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# CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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History, and Life of Classical Antiquity

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# CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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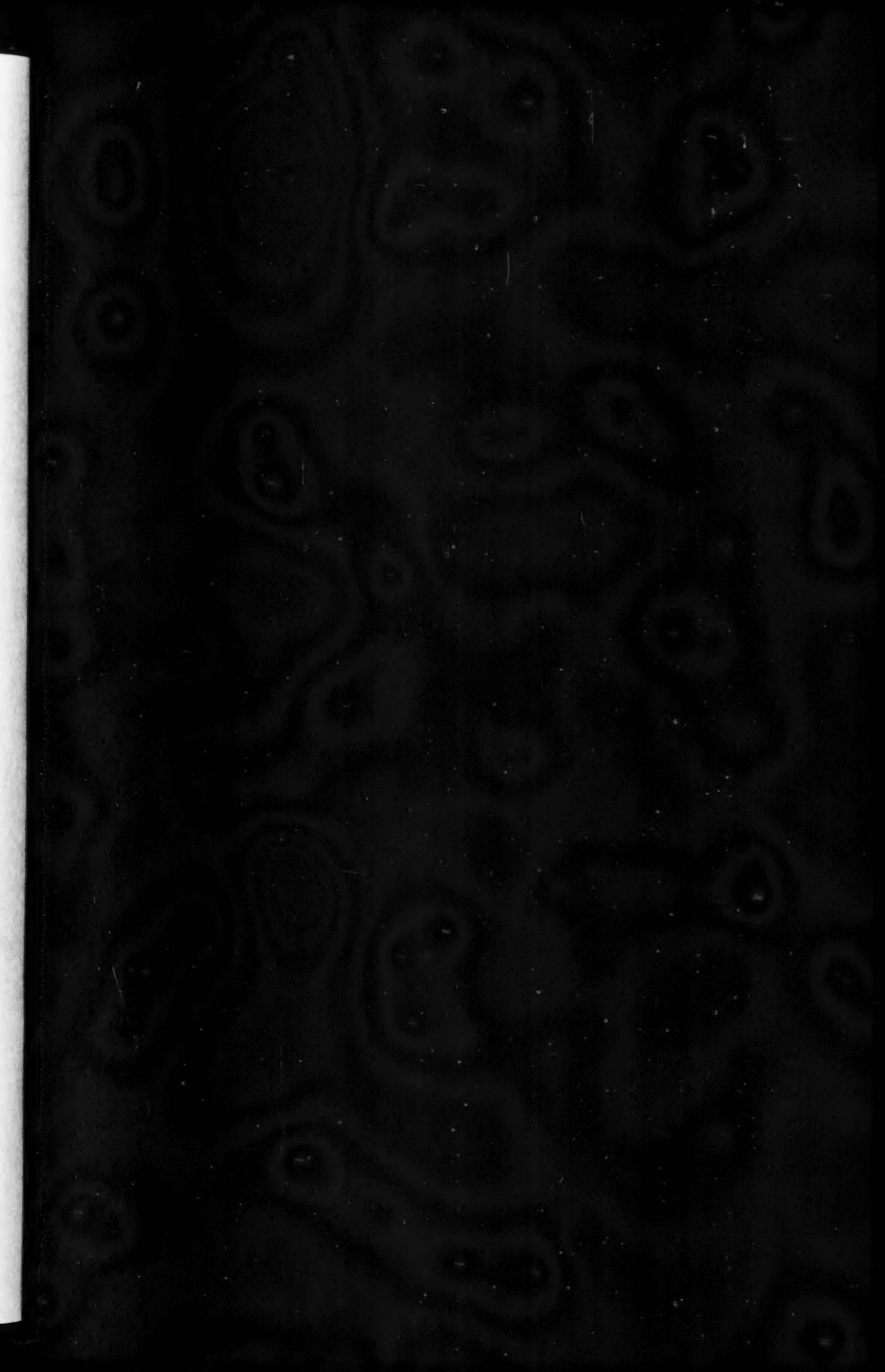
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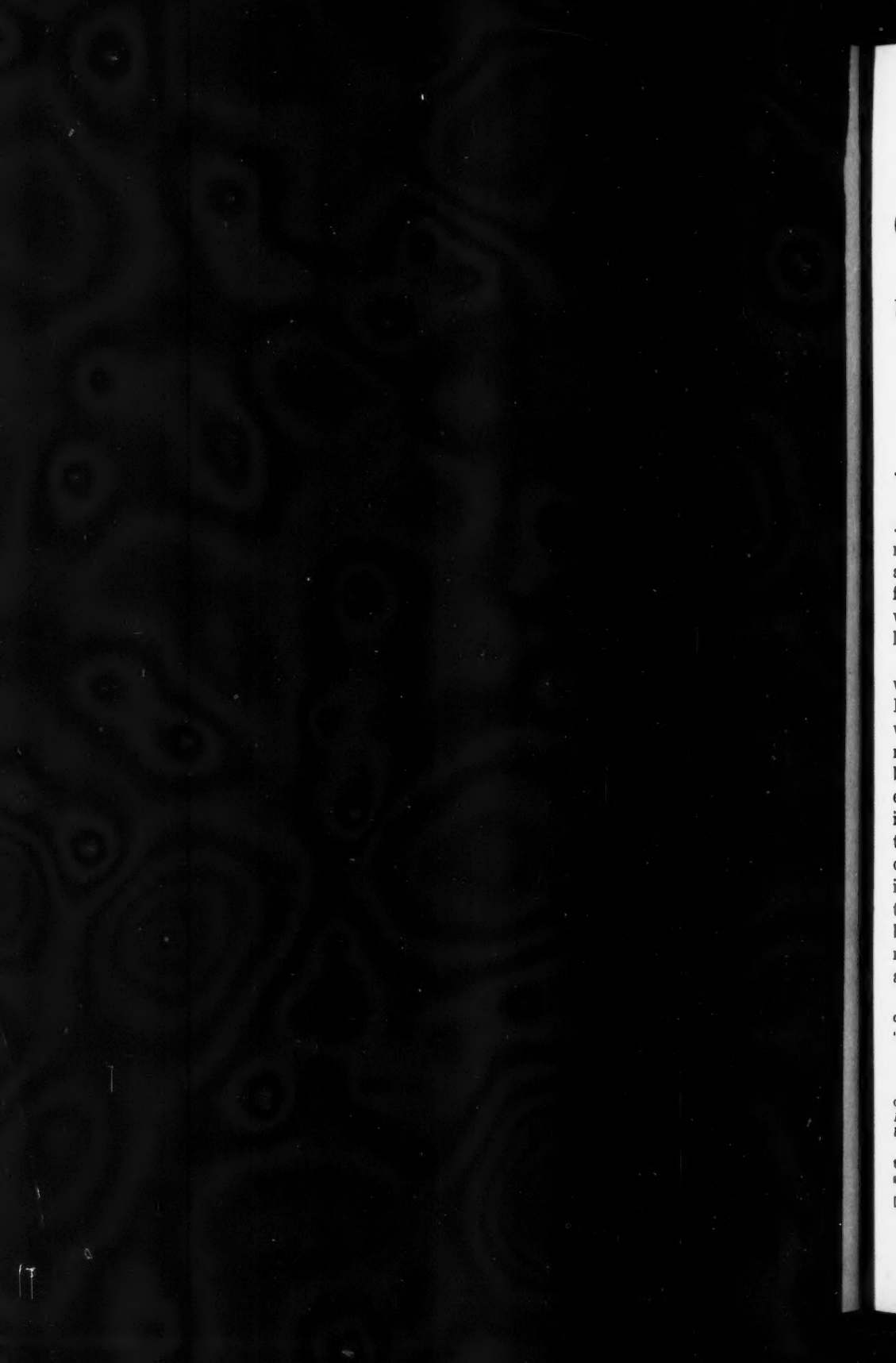
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# CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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## THE LATIN AND ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THOMAS MAY'S *SUPPLEMENTUM LUCANI*

R. T. BRUÈRE

DURING the past century the *Bellum civile* of Lucan, a poet preferred by Corneille<sup>1</sup> to Virgil, has been read less and less by the literate public and from scholars has received more professional attention than commendation, while the seven books of his continuer have been all but forgotten by both.

Thomas May's *Supplementum Lucani* was last printed in the third volume of P. A. Lemaire's edition of Lucan<sup>2</sup> (in which the lines of the *Supplementum* are numbered for the first time); it has never been given a commentary or been subjected to sustained critical examination.<sup>3</sup> This is regrettable, for the *Supplementum*, although not the only modern continuation of a Latin heroic poem, is unique in that it is free from the quality of monstrosity of the thirteenth book of the *Aeneid* written by Maphæus Vegius,<sup>4</sup> an excrescence marring the integrity of a poem structurally perfect, or of the sequel which Thom-

as Ross appended to his edition of the *Punica* of Silius Italicus<sup>5</sup> (such unity as Silius could compass was achieved with the triumph of Africanus, and no good is done by protracting the action until Hannibal's death), inasmuch as it continues<sup>6</sup> a poem obviously and admittedly unfinished; furthermore, it is of utility and interest as a companion piece and mirror to Lucan; for, just as comparison of the portion of the *Roman de la rose* written by Guillaume de Lorris with that by Jean de Meung makes the essential qualities of each more clearly perceptible, so the merits and flaws of the *Bellum civile* are brought into relief by the less frenetic, if less inspired, *Supplementum*; finally, it is a work of worth and substance in its own right.

The *Supplementum* first appeared, a separate volume, at Leyden in 1640 and was republished thus at London six years later. For nearly two centuries it was printed in the majority of larger editions of Lucan, commencing with the widely circulated "Elzevir" edition of Schrevel-

<sup>1</sup> P. D. Huet, *Origines de Caen* (Paris, 1702), p. 545; cf. N. Boileau, *Art poétique*, Book IV, ll. 83-84:

"Tel s'est fait par ses vers distinguer dans la ville  
Qui jamais de Lucain n'a distingué Virgile."

<sup>2</sup> Lucan, *Pharsalia* (Paris, 1832), II, Part 2, 3-90.

<sup>3</sup> Translations and analyses of some of the speeches of the *Supplementum* are included in J. A. Amar, *Discours et harangues choisies, tirées des poètes épiques latins* (Paris, 1819), II, 266-303.

<sup>4</sup> Published with introduction, commentary, and translations by Anna Cox Brinton (Stanford University Press, 1930).

<sup>5</sup> London, 1656 and 1672. (In English.)

<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that May's poem, entitled *Supplementum* in the Latin, and *Continuation* (to the death of Julius Caesar) in the English version, does not commit him to the opinion that Lucan, had he completed his poem, would have terminated it with Caesar's death but merely that he would have included this event.

us,<sup>7</sup> where it is still most easily accessible. The great critic Nicholas Heinsius, more given to censure than to praise, spoke well of the poem;<sup>8</sup> Dr. Samuel Johnson, who cannot be reproached with sympathy toward May's republicanism, judged May the best of English Latin poets.<sup>9</sup> After the cavalier epigram: "Thomas May indeed is an admirable imitator of Lucan; so good a one, that if in Lucan you find little poetry, in May you find none," W. S. Landor goes on to say: "But his verses sound well upon the anvil."<sup>10</sup> In his Introduction to Haskins' Lucan,<sup>11</sup> W. E. Heitland qualifies the *Supplementum* as "a work of some merit."<sup>12</sup>

May's historical poem exists in two versions, the vernacular *Continuation* and the Latin *Supplementum*, which, although this has not hitherto been remarked, show

<sup>7</sup> Amsterdam, 1658 and 1669.

<sup>8</sup> *Poemata* (Leyden, 1653), p. 161.

<sup>9</sup> "If the Latin performances of Cowley and Milton be compared, for May I hold to be superior to both . . ." (*Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill [Oxford, 1905], I, 13, and *Works* [ed. 1825], IX, 23: "The Latin poetry of *Deliciae poetarum Scottorum* would have done honour to any nation; at least, till the publication of May's *Supplement*, the English had very little to oppose").

<sup>10</sup> Southey and Landor, "Second Conversation," *Works* (London, 1846), II, 170; and in the same vein (p. 173): "in all the volumes of Buchanan I doubt whether you can discover a glimpse of poetry; and few sparks fly off the anvil of May." Landor was a harsh critic of ancient as well as modern Latin verse. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 155: "Southey: Yet you repeat with enthusiasm the Latin poetry of Robert Smith, an imitator of Lucretius. Landor: I do; for Lucretius himself has nowhere written such a continuity of admirable poetry. He is the only modern Latin poet who has composed three sentences together worth reading; and indeed, since Ovid, no ancient has done it."

<sup>11</sup> (London, 1887), p. xxxi and n. 39.

<sup>12</sup> A. G. Chester in his dissertation *Thomas May, Man of Letters* (Philadelphia, 1932), briefly discusses the *Supplementum* and the English *Continuation*, pp. 156-61; but this is not the most valuable part of this useful and comprehensive work. Chester did not read the *Supplementum* with sufficient care to discover the numerous and patent divergencies between the versions, and consequently his judgment—"he [May] was one of the first and most able of English practitioners in this kind," and "his verse is an excellent imitation of Lucan's flowing hexameters" (p. 160)—while not false, cannot be held authoritative.

many differences beyond the obvious one of language. It is the purpose of this paper to scrutinize these divergencies with a view toward establishing which recension received the poet's *ultima manus* and, consequently, is the final and definitive version of the poem.

The *Continuation* appeared in 1630,<sup>13</sup> the *Supplementum* a decade later.<sup>14</sup> After giving the dates of publication of *C* and *S*, Chester says: "From these dates, it is by no means clear that May composed the work first in Latin and then translated it into English, as is commonly supposed."<sup>15</sup> He continues:

It is quite possible, of course, that the Latin version came first and that, while this was not immediately published, an English translation was made and printed in order to follow up the success of May's translation of the *Pharsalia*.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, the opposite method, which is suggested by the dates, seems the more likely for an Englishman who was ambitious for popular success as an author. Save for the evidence of dates, there is no way of telling what May's method was.

<sup>13</sup> *A Continuation of the Subject of Lucan's Historical Poem till the Death of Julius Caesar*, by T M (London, 1630).

<sup>14</sup> *Supplementum Lucani Libri VII Authore Tho: May* (Leyden, 1640). These poems will henceforth be cited as "C" and "S."

<sup>15</sup> P. 156. The common supposition has, in fact, been that *S* is a translation of *C*. Cf. *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1760), p. 3065, n. c: "And in the year 1630 was published in English His Continuation of it. This poem of His own composition he translated into Latin, and it was published abroad the same year [sic]"; and the *Dictionary of National Biography* (XXXVII, 144): "This [*S*] is a translation of the foregoing [*C*], 'written,' says Wood, 'in so lofty and happy Latin hexameter that he hath attained to much more reputation abroad than he hath lost at home'"; and F. Ernst Schmid (*Thomas May's Tragedy of Julia Agrippina* [Louvain, 1914], p. 4), who says of *S*: "Es ist dieses eine Übersetzung des vorangehenden Gedichts in das Lateinische." On the other hand, Birkbeck Hill, probably by inadvertence, states: "Thomas May published in 1640 *Supplementum Lucani*. He translated also Lucan and his own *Supplementum* into English verse," in his ed. of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, I, 12, n. 4.

<sup>16</sup> The first book appeared separately in 1626; the entire poem the next year.

There exists, however, sufficient evidence, external and internal, to establish the anteriority of *C*; and comparison of the versions shows *S* to be a purposeful recasting of *C* rather than a mere translation. This evidence will now be presented.

First, the external evidence: in the original 1627 edition of May's version of Lucan's poem the final lines of the translation:

In this same  
Sad traite, he thinkes of noble Scaeva's fame,  
Who at Dyrrachium, when his workes were  
downe,  
Besedg'd all Pompey's strength himselfe  
alone,

which render *BC* x. 543-46, with which the Latin text breaks off:

respexit in agmine denso  
Scaevam perpetuae meritum iam nomina  
famae  
ad campos, Epidamne, tuos, ubi solus apertis  
obsedit muris calcantem moenia Magnum,

are followed by these verses:

- 1 Th' example rais'd his thoughts, resolv'd  
to doe  
What Scaeva did; but straight a scorne to  
owe  
His valour to examples, checks againe  
That high resolve: great thoughts, great  
thoughts restraine.
- 5 Yet thus at last; Scaeva was mine, 'twas I  
Nurtur'd that spirit: if like him I dy,  
I doe not imitate, but Caesars feate  
Rather confirms that Scaevas act was  
great.  
In this resolve had Caesar charg'd them  
all
- 10 Himselfe alone, and so a glorious fall  
(Slaine by a thousand hands at once) had  
met,  
Or else enobled by a death so great  
Those thousand hands; but fortune was  
afraid  
To venture Caesar further than her aide
- 15 Could lend a famous rescue, and endeare

- The danger to him; she discovers neare  
Ships of his owne; thither when Caesar  
makes,  
He findes no safety there, but straight for-  
sakes  
Those ships againe, and leapes into the  
maine.
- 20 The trembling billowes fear'd to enter-  
taine  
So great a pledge of fortune, one to whom  
Fate ow'd so many victoryes to come  
And Iove (whilest he on Caesars danger  
lookes)  
Suspects the truth of th' adamantine  
bookes.
  - 25 Who could have thought, but that the  
gods above  
Had now begun to favour Rome, and love  
Her liberty againe? and that the fate  
Of Pompey's sons, of Cato, and the state  
'Gainst Caesars fortune had prevailed  
now!
  - 30 Why doe the powers Caelestiall labour so  
To be unjust againe? againe take care  
To save that life they had expos'd so far  
That now the danger even in Caesars eye,  
Might cleare their doome of partiality?
  - 35 But he must live untill his fall may proove  
Brutus and Cassius were more just than  
Iove.  
Now all alone on seas doth Caesar floate;  
Himselfe the oares, the Pylot, and the  
boate;  
Yet could not all these offices employ
  - 40 One mans whole strength, for his left hand  
on high  
Raised, holds up his papers, and preserves  
The fame of his past deedes, his right hand  
serves  
To cut the waves, and guard his life alone  
'Gainst th' Oceans perills, and all darts,  
which throwne
  - 45 From every side doe darken all the sky,  
And make a cloud, though heaven it selfe  
deny,  
Two hundred paces thus alone he swam  
Till to the body of his fleete he came,  
His ore-ioy'd souldiers shouting to the  
skies
  - 50 Take sure presage of future victoryes.

Thus Caesar, whom Lucan had left on the Heptastadium mole at Alexandria in mortal peril, is brought to safety on board one of his own ships. It is probable that in adding these couplets May conceived the design of writing an extended continuation of Lucan's poem. Both *C* and *S* take up the story shortly after Caesar's escape. If *C* is considered the prior version, no difficulty arises; May simply carried on the narrative from the point at which the verses cited above had left it. The English reader would perceive no gap between the tenth book of Lucan and the commencement of *C*. It is easily understandable, if May started with *C* before him to compose *S*, that, either from negligence or to make *S* correspond with *C*, he chose the same point of departure for the Latin as for the vernacular poem; if, on the other hand, *S* be presumed the earlier version, it is inexplicable that May did not begin his sequel by turning the couplets appended to his translation into hexameters so that *S* might follow Lucan without a break in continuity.

The internal evidence is more complex and more abundant. The text of *C* has been collated with that of *S*,<sup>17</sup> but no attempt has been made to note all variations of phrasing and expression, every small instance of expansion or compression of ideas—in short, all the multifarious liberties that even a metaphrastic translator will allow himself, particularly when he is working upon a text of his own composition; mention will be made only of those differences appearing too significant (and here an entirely objective criterion is impossible) to be justifiable in a translation, however free. That *S* is a recasting of *C*

<sup>17</sup> For *C*, the second (1633) edition has been used, which is the last revised by the author; for *S*, that of Lemaire, which, save for the correction of a few misprints and an occasional solecism, is that of the *principes* of 1640. Ancient Greek and Latin authors are cited according to the text and numeration of current Teubner editions.

could adequately be demonstrated by a fraction of the evidence here given; but, since the subject will in all likelihood be treated but once, it has seemed proper to treat it with some thoroughness; furthermore, a detailed comparison of the versions throws a certain light on May's method of composition and on the evolution of his technique and of his convictions.

The difference between *C* and *S* most immediately apparent is that *C* contains much that *S* does not. The Arguments at the head of the several books in *C* are quite full, consisting of at least four couplets. In *S* they are in prose and very succinct. For example, the Argument prefixed to the first book of *C* is eight verses long; the corresponding *Argumentum* in *S* contains but eleven words. The revolt of the Alexandrians from Arsinoë and Ganymede is described in *C* in twenty couplets (2. 29–3. 34),<sup>18</sup> which are chiefly concerned with the speech of an unidentified Alexandrian, urging that hostilities against Caesar be discontinued while Ptolemy remains in Caesar's power. *S* telescopes all this into two lines (i. 30–31):  
nec pavidum murmur, consensu audacia crevit  
tantaque turba metu poenarum solvit ab  
omni,

which advantageously accelerate the tempo of the action. Similarly, sixteen couplets having to do with the struggle of the Rhodian Euphranor when his vessel was surrounded by the Alexandrian fleet (5. 15–6. 12) are compressed into i. 73: "periit numeris oppressa triremis," and the otiose biographical detail concerning

<sup>18</sup> In *C* neither pages nor verses are numbered. Counting from the page on which the poem begins to that on which it ends, there are 141 pages (eight complete sheets BCDEFGHI of sixteen pages each and a final one, K, of thirteen). Full pages usually, although not always, contain thirty-four verses. By the system here used 140. 15 means the fifteenth verse on the one hundred and fortieth page of the text of the poem.

Mithridates of Pergamum (6. 30-7. 4) is omitted entirely in *S*. In these instances the version of *S* is superior in artistic economy; the excision of the matter peculiar to *C* is reasonable, its addition, unlikely.

In describing the Nile as it winds around various islands, *C* reads (7. 14-24):

whilest his silver streame  
From severall channells oft it selfe doth meet,  
And oft it selfe with wanton kisses greet,  
So those faire rivolets, which for the food  
Of living bodies, beare the crimson blood  
To every part, within the liver meet,  
And there with kisses numberlesse doe greet  
Themselves; and as they through each other  
glide  
Make many knots, as if they tooke a pride  
In their strange foldings, and themselves did  
please  
In those admired Anastomoses.

This ingenious comparison is wanting in *S*. It appears inspired by the theory of the circulation of the blood, which had been enunciated about this time;<sup>19</sup> an anachronism of this sort would be more apparent in a Latin version, where every effort is made to maintain an antique tone, than in an English one. *C* also gives some additional geographical detail (distances, 8. 1 and 17; cities of the Delta, 9. 5-14). Here May is following Strabo xvii. (pp. 803-4), more slavishly in *C* than in *S*.

In the account of the battle of the Nile, *C* describes the preliminary cavalry skirmish in considerable detail (14. 3-15. 26); only a synopsis is to be found in *S* (i. 245-52). Here *C* paraphrases *Bellum Alexandrinum* 29. 2-5. In following this source mechanically, *C* places undue emphasis on the insignificant first engagement and renders the main battle anticlimactic. A striving toward concision and elimination of the unessential explains the absence in

<sup>19</sup> William Harvey's epoch-making treatise, *Exercitatio anatomica de motu cordis et sanguinis* had appeared at Frankfurt in 1628.

*S* of a short speech by Ptolemy (18. 15-20), as well as of 2. 19-20, 9. 24 and 28, 10. 11-12, 11. 7-9, 12. 3-6, 14. 12-15, 17. 7-8 and 13-14, 19. 33-34.

In several places in the first book *S* contains material not in *C*.

Caesar, though once enrag'd, admits their low  
Submissive prayers [4. 7-8],

is expanded to:

Ausonius Ductor, quamvis iam fervidus ira  
pacem optans, Phariaque timens regione teneri  
dum procul Aemathiae coeant fragmenta  
ruinae,

dum, quas dispersit clades Pharsalica, rursus  
iungantur vires, et castra hostilia crescant,  
castigat primo dictis; mox fronte serena  
dat veniam precibus [i. 37-43].

In this passage *C* follows *Bal* 24. 1: "Caesar. . . petentibus dare veniam utile esse statuit"; the additional lines in *S* to the effect that Caesar freed the king to put an end to the Alexandrian disturbance so that he could get on with the Civil War supply a needed motivation for his act; they also contain echoes of Lucan, which May would have been reluctant to sacrifice.<sup>20</sup>

In the following case, *S* presents a recast and somewhat augmented version:

Caesar, that never in his battells, held  
A foe subdu'd, till from his Campe expell'd,  
Exhorts his Souldiers to forget their paines  
And freshly force the workes, whilest feare  
there reignes  
To end this warre, and with the wealthy spoyle  
Of Aegypts King to recompence their toyle  
[*C* 16. 9-14].

Ite, viri, dixit, belloque imponite finem  
virtutis pretium, mercedem sanguinis, auro  
argentoque referta tenent tentoria regis:

<sup>20</sup> Cf. 1. 38: "Phariaque timens regione teneri" with *BC* vii. 57: "patriciaque procul tellure teneri"; 1. 39: "Dum procul Aemathiae coeant fragmenta ruinae" with *BC* ix. 33: "abstulit Emathiae secum fragmenta ruinae"; 1. 42: "mox fronte serena/Dat veniam precibus"; with *BC* iv. 363: "at Caesar facilis voltaque serenus/flectitur atque usus belli poenamque remittit."



Niliacas gemmas, Erythraeo e litore conchas  
totque simul procerum congestas undique  
gazar

quae vobis debentur, ait, nunc sumere restat  
et rapere a victis [i. 265-71].

The reference to the panic of the enemy, incorporated in the indirect report of Caesar's exhortation in *C* (16. 12), is placed before the beginning of Caesar's speech (i. 262), which is quoted directly in *S. S* i. 262: "dum fortuna calet, dumque omnia plena timore" equals *BC* vii. 734: "dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror," which sets the scene for the speech with which Caesar urges his troops to assault the Pompeian camp at Pharsalus:

"victoria nobis  
plena viri": dixit "superest pro sanguine  
merces  
quam monstrare meum est; neque enim donare  
vocabo

quod sibi quisque dabit. cunctis, en, plena  
metallis  
castra patent; raptum Hesperiiis e gentibus  
aurum

hic iacet Eoasque premunt tentoria gazas.  
tot regum fortuna simul Magnique coacta  
expectat dominos: propera praecedere, miles,  
quos sequeris; quascumque tuas Pharsalia fecit  
a victis rapiuntur opes" [*BC* vii. 737-46].

This passage was already in May's mind when he wrote *C*, as the correspondence of 16. 15-16:

Nor need the Souldiers be encouraged  
To seeke their wages for the blood they shed  
with *BC* vii. 736-37:

non magno hortamine miles  
in praedam ducendus erat

attests. In the course of the composition of *S*, May, reminded of it by *C* 16. 15-16, consulted this speech of Caesar's in *BC* and recast the speech he puts into Caesar's

mouth at the crisis of the battle of the Nile under the influence of this Lucanian analogue.

Repeatedly, *S* presents the material of *C* pruned, rearranged, or amplified so that passages will end with a striking reflection or paradox. This is a favorite mannerism of Lucan and, in fact, was so prevalent in the writers of the early empire that Quintilian protests that there are not enough good *sententiae* to make it possible for one to be placed at every halt.<sup>21</sup> This tendency is illustrated in the first book by the apostrophe which the poet addresses to the dead Ptolemy (*S* i. 336-47), which corresponds to *C* 18. 33-19. 14. *C* concludes by declaring that in causing the death of Ptolemy, Caesar (19. 13) "chooses rather to revenge, than owe / To thee, so base a ruine of his foe." This thought is put, in a pointed and paradoxical way, by *S* thus:

genericque perempti  
ne possit debere nefas, ulciscitur ipse  
inque tua titulum pietatis caede requirit  
[i. 345-47].

The notion of seeking reputation for *pietas* by slaying Ptolemy, with the further point that it was the reputation, not the reality, that Caesar wished, as the allusion to the cynical expression with which Lucan speaks of the relations of Ptolemy and his sister/wife Cleopatra,

hauserit obscenum titulo pietatis amorem  
[*BC* x. 363],

makes plain, is surprising and entirely in the manner of the *sententiae* with which Lucan stresses his points.

Repeatedly also Caesar appears to worse advantage in *S* than in *C*. This is consonant with the increasing republican-

<sup>21</sup> *IO* viii. 5. 14: "neque enim possunt tam multae bonae sententiae esse, quam necesse est multae sint clausulae." Cf. H. Bardon, *Le Vocabulaire de la critique littéraire chez Sénèque le rhéteur* (Paris, 1940), p. 53, s.v. 2: "trait, pensée à valeur particulière à une cause donnée."

ism of May, which finally led to his becoming one of the foremost supporters of the Commonwealth; by 1640 he had, furthermore, been twice disappointed by King Charles I, since he was not given the Poet Laureateship in 1637 and was passed over in the selection of the Chronicler of the city of London two years later. In the first book the contrast of *C* 19. 21-24:

he [Caesar] declares

That all his wrath is ended with his warres;  
That he, as Romes Dictatour, would preserve  
Their lives and liberties

with *S*, where the passage has shrunk to "Praemittit veniam cunctis" (i. 351), which preserves historical fact without presenting "Romes dictatour" in a benevolent light, illustrates this change of attitude.

The order of events in the two versions is not always the same. *C* 6. 13-7. 4, which describe the arrival of Mithridates of Pergamum at Pelusium and give some genealogical information about that prince, directly follow the Euphranor engagement. In *S* the corresponding passage does not appear until much later (i. 223-33). *C* here follows the order of *Bellum Alexandrinum* 25. 3-6, where the Euphranor engagement is recounted, while 26 begins "Sub idem tempus Mithridates Pergamenus." It is normal that May should closely adhere to his source in his initial version. But *BAL* is hopelessly confused here; May did not have the means to form a clear idea of the tactical moves leading up to the battle of the Nile. The topography of these operations has not yet been entirely settled; without an exact knowledge of the local geography, no plausible hypothesis can be made. By transposition of the Mithridates episode, May endeavors to clarify the general situation; he at least makes his narration more coherent and dramatic by placing it just before the

final battle and by eliminating the interposition of the episodes of the description of the Nile and of the incubation of the king at the temple of Serapis at Canopus. As a result of this, however, *S* leaves Ptolemy marching through the Nile delta without motivation (i. 74-76). The corresponding passage in *C* (7. 5-7), where it is said that Ptolemy is preparing to set out from Canopus across the delta, follows the account of Mithridates' arrival at Pelusium, and consequently Ptolemy must march to intercept Mithridates and try to keep him from joining forces with Caesar, who is at Alexandria at the northwestern extremity of the delta. Mention of the delta could not well be omitted by *S* at this point, since it serves to introduce the description of the Nile (i. 77-129); but for some reason, just after the gap left by the transposition of the Mithridates episode, *S* represents the royal army (and presumably the king) as already in the process of crossing the delta (i. 74-75), although, inconsistently (i. 130-31), the king is later still at Canopus, preparing to cross, but determined to consult the incubation-oracle of Serapis at Canopus prior to his departure. Consequently, this transposition, in that it disrupts the continuity of the poem in an attempt to increase its dramatic effectiveness, is an example of revision not altogether successful.<sup>22</sup>

In the second book the description of the banquet with which Cleopatra regales Caesar after his victory is less diffuse in *S*. The Latin poem has reduced the long comparison in which the notion is developed that the Egyptian feasts are to modern Roman ones as the latter to the parsimonious repasts of Camillus (*C* 24. 9-14) to the simple *et magno celebrat convivia luxu* (ii. 18). In like manner *C* 24. 23-24

<sup>22</sup> In addition to being transposed, this episode has been abbreviated by *S*. Nine verses of *C* (6. 30-7. 4) are unrepresented.



(details of furniture) have been cut, together with 25. 33-34 (daughters of Pleione) and *C* 28. 26-32 (otiose reflections on the murder of Caesarion by Augustus, which has just been foreshadowed, and the assertion that on the night with which the poet is concerned Caesarion was conceived). In the catalogue of senatorial forces which follows, a similar compression and elimination of superfluous detail may be observed in *S*, where *C* 29. 23-25 (the genealogy of the Cyreneans) is lacking, the statement that the men of Thapsus were descended from the Latins (29. 33) is replaced by a reference to the great battle soon to take place near this city. The "coale-blacke Mibians" are described at length in *C* (30. 33-31. 6); in *S* they get two and a half verses (ii. 182-84); the Adymachides are mentioned only in *C* (31. 9-14). *C* 31. 25-32. 6 gives abundant historical precedent to show the soundness of the senatorial plan of crossing from Africa into Italy to attack Caesar while he was still in the vicinity of Rome, whereas *S* (ii. 189-91) only states that Metellus Scipio intended to cross to Italy when spring came. *C* gives some unimportant detail about Mithridates the father of Pharnaces that is not in *S* (*C* 33. 26-28). Further compressions and omissions are *C* 29. 17 (details of the equipment of the Punic troops) and *C* 37. 29-38. 4. The latter passage tells of the trophy which Caesar set up after defeating Pharnaces and adds that this trophy was right next to the one which Mithridates had set up in commemoration of his defeat of Triarius in the same spot some years before. May had found this information in Dio xlii. 48. 2 and, in writing *C*, incorporated it in his account; in the framework of his poem an allusion to the little-known Triarius affair (Dio xxxv. 10-12) could have little appropriateness, and consequently he cut it out upon revision.

The conceit used by *C* (25. 13-14) in describing the beauty of Cleopatra:

And blushing Rubies seem'd to lose their die  
When her more ruby lips were moving by

is put by *S* ii. 43-45:

labra rubinus  
non rosea aequaret, nisi primo victa fuisset  
et pudor augeret quem dat Natura ruborem

with vividness and nicety; the version of *C* is tamer, since the rubies are not made to blush in shame at being outdone but rather are called "blushing" as they might be called "crimson" or "rose-red." It is understandable that *S* developed from *C*, but that the version of *S* be reduced to that of *C* is not. The conceit of *S* corresponds in striking fashion with that in Shakespeare's *Lucrece*, lines 477-79:

The colour in thy face  
That even for anger makes the lily pale  
And the red rose blush at her own disgrace.

The description of Cleopatra in *S* ends with the above *sententia*; four verses describing the queen's clothes, which follow in *C* (25. 15-18), have been deleted, no doubt as anticlimactic. A further instance of stylistic revision to obtain an effect more pointed and Lucanian is furnished by *S* ii. 323-24 (Cleopatra is begging to be taken on the expedition against Pharnaces), which are not represented in *C*:

quo propius bellum sub te Ductore secuta  
hoc magis a belli fuero terrore remota.

This is an adaptation of the argument used by Cornelia when Pompey proposes sending her away from him to Mytilene (*BC* v. 768-69):

credisne aliquid mihi tutius esse  
quam tibi?

for each contains the idea that the safety of the woman would not be increased by separation.

In two cases verses relating to Cleopatra

have been recast in *S* with the purpose of rendering her less sympathetic and more like the Cleopatra of the *BC*. Lucan follows the Augustan tradition of depicting Cleopatra as a monster,<sup>23</sup> while the Cleopatra in *C* resembles the less forbidding one in May's play,<sup>24</sup> where the queen is portrayed as less constant than she is by Shakespeare, but as ingratiating and with an underlying integrity that emerges before her death. Thus *C* 36. 34-37. 2, in which Cleopatra trustfully speaks of her unborn child as an earnest of Caesar's speedy return, does not appear in *S*, whereby the *ethos* of the farewell scene is changed to the disadvantage of Cleopatra. The replacement of *C* 24. 3-4:

It was the glance of her bewitching eyes,  
Had power to helpe your helpelesse deities;

by the coarse (and Lucanian)<sup>25</sup> "et stupro redimit Memphitica sceptrum" (*Sii*. 13) contributes to produce the same effect. The additional lines (*ii*. 332-33), which appear at the end of the farewell scene in *S* but not in *C*, are normal enough in *S*, since tear-drinking is not unprecedented in Latin erotic poetry;<sup>26</sup> but the notion is somewhat blunt for English taste, and its inclusion is probably related to the general decrease in delicacy in *S*'s treatment of the queen.

Two small points in this book also indicate the precedence of *C*. Caesar goaded into action against Pharnaces is compared to a lion awakened by a gnat. The lion crushes the gnat, but this does not assuage his wrath, and he goes on to attack cattle grazing in the fields (*C* 33. 16). "A sleeping Lion's couched in his den" has been altered by *S* to (*ii*. 230-31) "Sic cum leo

magnus apertis / dormivit campis . . .," which is an improvement, since the lion is already in the open and naturally sees the cattle upon being aroused. Secondly, *S* scans *Pharnaces* with a long second *a* (*ii*. 228, 240, 248). This is wrong.<sup>27</sup> In general, May in *S* is meticulous about his prosody. It is true that he displaces the accent in the two passages of his translation of the *BC* where the name *Pharnaces* occurs,<sup>28</sup> and continues to do so in *C*; but it is implausible that, if he had written the Latin version first, he would have permitted himself such license; with the English before him he might well unconsciously scan the word in Latin as he had in English.

In the third book *S* omits *C* 46. 7-47. 18, where May, following *Bellum Africum*,<sup>29</sup> describes at some length the fortification of the Rhuspina Peninsula and the practice evolutions of Scipio's elephants before the works. In mechanically following his historical source or sources, May ran the danger of composing versified history of the type against which Aristotle warned, when he observed that a rendition of Herodotus' history into verse would not constitute a heroic poem.<sup>30</sup> Here in discarding cumbrous historical detail thus acquired, May showed good judgment. A desire to get rid of prolix episodic matter explains the excision by *S* of the long digression (*C* 47. 19-49. 4) on the life and *mores* of the elephant.<sup>31</sup> *C* 51. 16-26 are not represented in *S*. The verses tell of the march of Caesar from his

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *BC* II. 637 and x. 476.

<sup>28</sup> "The strength Pharnáces holds I charge thee bring," and "Impious Pharnáces." This displacement of the Latin accent is common in Renaissance vernacular poetry (cf. Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, III. 41. 7, "Zopfro"; and V. 95. 8, "Glaífra").

<sup>29</sup> *BAf* 20 for fortifications, 27 for elephant practice maneuvers.

<sup>30</sup> *Poetics* 1451 b.

<sup>31</sup> The information about elephants here contained has been culled from Pliny *HN* viii. 1-13. The episode is praised by Chester (*op. cit.*, p. 158), who does not know that it is peculiar to *C*.

<sup>23</sup> "Fatale monstrum" (Hor. *Carm.* i. 37. 21; cf. Virgil *Aen.* viii. 688).

<sup>24</sup> *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* (acted 1626) (London, 1639).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *BC* x. 105-6.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Ov.* *AA* II. 326.

position near Rhuspina to the hills rising from the plain of Uzzita and relate an unsuccessful attempt on the part of Labienus to ambush the Caesarian forces. May seems to have confused this ambush with one he had mentioned previously (*C* 45. 34-46. 4; *S* iii. 54-57), which, in turn, is a conflation of the surprise of Caesar's oarsmen on the beach near Leptis (*BAf* 7. 5) with the attack made on the Caesarians by Labienus and the two Pacidei as the former were returning from Leptis to Rhuspina (*BAf* 13. 1). The geographical problems presented by *BAf* here are comparable to those which perplexed May when he was dealing with the battle of the Nile. Upon revision he saw what a quagmire he had got himself into and took the quickest way out, that of omitting the offending passage, which fortunately in this case involved no organic dislocation. Again, *S* renders the diffuse allocution of Scipio more compact by the deletion of *C* 54. 31-55. 2 (verses based on Lucan i. 282, where Curio argues that Caesar risks no more in civil war than he has already done in Gaul and stands to gain more). An additional reason for the elimination of these lines is that they place words reminiscent of Curio's cynicism into the mouth of Scipio, who is here the spokesman for what the poet regards as the better cause.<sup>32</sup>

To mark a pause with a Lucanian *sententia* is the purpose of the replacement of *C* 46. 3-6,

He breakes with conquest through the adverse troops,

Fortune but mocking Labienus hopes.

Who now with losse forsakes the field, and beares

To Adrumetum his hurt Souldiers,

<sup>32</sup> The following passages of *C* in the third book have been omitted by *S* on grounds of concision: 43. 13-14, 44. 1-2, 44. 29, 54. 8-10, 55. 14, 59. 17-18, 59. 20, 62. 5-6.

by *S* iii. 61: "bisque fugam Caesar solam vincendo paravit."

A historical error has been corrected in the following:

Thy safe arrivall on Brundusiums shore;  
(The stormy Seas so boldly ventur'd ore  
From Greece by night) [*C* 45. 7-9],

which *S* (iii. 37-8) has altered to

parvaque carina  
nocturni tutum vicisse pericula ponti.

The unsuccessful attempt of Caesar to cross by night from Epirus to Italy is told by Lucan, in wild and hyperbolic fashion, in *BC* v. 504-699, and the unwary have inferred that he thinks of Caesar as, in fact, getting to Brundisium,<sup>33</sup> although both Plutarch and Suetonius explicitly state that he did not.<sup>34</sup> In the seventh book of his poem May, in analogous fashion, replaces

Or when the stormy Seas he crossed ore  
By night, and safely reached Brundusium's shore [*C* 139. 31-32]

by the noncommittal *S* vii. 402-3: "pontique procellas/nocturnas."

The fourth book is concerned with the aftermath of Thapsus. The death scene of Juba and Petreius corresponds in the two versions except that *S* slightly abridges the last words of Petreius by deleting *C* 68. 3-4; the section of *C* describing the death of Scipio has been shorn of a prosy digression eulogizing the virtues of the Scipios (70. 17-26). The remainder of the book is taken up with Cato's last hours and death and with the episode of the serpent of the Bagradas. In each of these sec-

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Weise's note quoted by Haskins in his commentary *ad BC* v. 678. This misapprehension has a curious vitality. Cf. *The "Bellum civile" of Petronius*, by Florence T. Baldwin (New York, 1911), pp. 19-20: "Finally, to understand what would be necessary in order really to outdo Lucan in his most reckless mood, the account of the storm in which Caesar crossed from Dyrrachium to Brundisium should be considered. . . ."

<sup>34</sup> *Caes.* 38; *DI* 58.

tions the text of *S* shows that May had revised the version of *C* with great care.

The death scene of Cato is one of the most successful portions of May's poem; it was imitated by Addison in the last act of his famous tragedy, *Cato*,<sup>35</sup> and the author took great pains in both its composition and its revision. The greater part of this scene is taken up with an internal monologue on the part of Cato, consisting of his own elucubrations interspersed with thoughts ostensibly inspired by the *Phaedo*, which he is represented as reading during part of this time.<sup>36</sup>

Cato's last thoughts are presented more concisely in *S* than in *C* and also in a different order. The following table will throw some light on these differences:

- A. 71. 27-72. 2 (*S* iv. 160-67): Cato sits alone late at night, meditating on immortality.
- B. 72. 3-20 (*S* iv. 191-204 P)<sup>37</sup>: In contemplation the soul is loosened from the bonds of the body; the soul by its desire to discern forms of the infinite, eternal essence implies a longing for immortality.
- C. 72. 21-73. 12 (*S* iv. 168-82): The soul must be purged before it can approach truth.
- D. 73. 13-18 (*S* iv. 183-90): Cato espies a copy of the *Phaedo* and welcomes the book as suitable to comfort and improve his last moments.
- E. 73. 19-74. 10 P (*S* iv. 205-19 P): Cato reads in the *Phaedo* that the soul craves a knowledge of God which it cannot attain unless freed of the body; the Creator cannot be thought to have given the soul this desire to no purpose; therefore, the soul must survive the body. This being the case, there is no reason why it should not permanently survive.

<sup>35</sup> Chester, *op. cit.*, p. 158, n. 8.

<sup>36</sup> In fact, the thoughts purportedly derived from the *Phaedo* owe more to Virgil's sixth *Aeneid*, Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, and Macrobius' commentary on this last work.

<sup>37</sup> Paragraphs marked "P" are distinguished in *C* and *S*, respectively, from the ordinary text of the poem by their typography, with the purpose of indicating that they represent Cato's reading of the *Phaedo*.

- F. 74. 11-22 (see J, below): Virtue receives no reward on earth; unless rewarded hereafter, she is but an empty name.
- G. 74. 23-75. 16 P (*S* iv. 246-66 P): The soul must not leave the body until summoned by God.
- H. 75. 17-76. 16 (*S* iv. 267-88): Deliberations on the justifiability of suicide.
- I. 76. 17-77. 4 P (*S* iv. 220-37 P): The souls of the good rise up to the skies; dark ones hover near earth.
- J. 77. 5-18 (*S* iv. 238-45)<sup>38</sup>: Cato, reassured as to the fate of his soul hereafter, resolves to depart this life.
- K. 77. 19-26 (*S* iv. 293-300): Cato stabs himself, rends wound, and dies.

It will have been observed that these divisions appear in *S* in an order different from that of *C*, viz.:

- A. iv. 160-67
- C. iv. 168-82
- D. iv. 183-90
- B. iv. 191-204
- E. iv. 205-19
- I. iv. 220-37
- F/J. iv. 238-45
- G. iv. 246-66
- H. iv. 267-88
- iv. 289-93 (in place of *C* 77. 17-18)
- K. iv. 293-300

From this rearrangement it results that B, which from its content belongs with the *Phaedo* material, appears in *S* as part of Cato's reading rather than as vague introductory observations offered by the poet. Paragraph C, which appropriately serves as an introduction to Cato's thoughts, since his soul has undergone the purification of which the paragraph speaks, remains in the same position in *S* as in the English version. Paragraphs E, G, and I have in *S* been combined with B and placed in the order, B, E, I, G. Thus para-

<sup>38</sup> In *C* the résumé of Cato's reading is twice interrupted (F and J); *S* has but one interruption (iv. 238-45), which is a condensed amalgamation of the passages of *C* just cited (77. 5 equals iv. 238 and 77. 9-10, iv. 241; otherwise the *S* verses derive from F).

graph G, which in the English version is the second of the sections representing Cato's reading of the *Phaedo*, becomes the final paragraph of this résumé in *S*. This creates an effect of climax, for the latter part of G relates to the problem of suicide, which fittingly leads up to Cato's self-destruction. In the *Continuation*, on the other hand, Cato reads G, reflects on it, then takes up the *Phaedo* once more and reads I, which has to do with the different fate of good and evil souls after death. Paragraph H, containing Cato's meditations on the occasional justifiability of suicide, apropos of what he had just read (G), are in *S* inserted immediately before Cato stabs himself. The account of his reading, twice interrupted in the more diffuse *C*, has in *S* been more aptly arranged and contracted by the fusing of paragraphs F and J into the verses iv. 238-45. Further abridgment has been effected in Cato's debate about suicide, where *S* omits the substance of 75. 31-34. More than a desire for brevity is behind the excision of the idea that Cato expresses in lines 31-32 of this passage:

or else die

With one sinne more if mercy he deny,

for this is not consonant with Cato's character as May has been portraying it. Cato has just declared (75. 29-30) that it would be shameful to sue for Caesar's mercy. Representing Cato as bringing forward the possibility that Caesar might reject his plea to justify his not making it detracts from the dignity of his stand. It is one thing to refuse on principle to ask for clemency, and quite another because of the uneasy thought that such a plea might be in vain. By deleting the lines containing this idea, *S* removes a flaw in characterization.

In contrast to *C*, *S* emphasizes the political aspect of Cato's suicide. The Eng-

lish version shows Cato as no longer thinking of the political reasons for killing himself by the time he has read paragraph I. Cato takes his departure with these words (*C* 77. 17-18):

Farewell, fraile World; what here we cannot  
see

I goe to finde, cleare truth and certaintie,

which accord with the extra-mundane atmosphere which Cato's reading has given his last minutes. *S*, in addition to the transposition already pointed out, replaces the lines of *C* just quoted by (iv. 289-92):

Ah potius fragilem hanc sit fas abrumpere  
vitam

quam te, Libertas, violem, sed Numina si te  
nunc tandem iussere mori, tua funera saltem  
prosequar, et Stygias liber comitabor ad um-  
bras.

The significance of Cato's death in the context of a historical poem on the *Bel-lum civile* is that he killed himself from unwillingness to accept the supremacy of Caesar and to survive the end of the republic. Both in Lucan and in *S*, Cato's identification with the so-called "wise man" of the Stoics is of secondary importance; much more, he is the incarnation of the rigid austerity traditionally ascribed to heroic figures of earlier days of the Roman republic. His death is not caused by the hopelessness of finding certainty and truth in this world but is a gesture of political despair. In composing *C* the incorporation of metaphysical matter had distracted the attention of the poet from the proper function of this suicide. Upon revision he remedied the resulting technical blunder. The scene ends with Cato's ripping open his bandaged wounds; the final line in *S* is the Lucanian *sententia* (iv. 300): "mortemque docet non posse negari"; the additional couplet, antilimactic in effect, which appears in *C*:



The Citizens with honour did interre  
That spotlesse mansion of a Soule so cleare  
[77. 25-26],

is not represented in *S*.

The concluding portion of this book is devoted to the episode of the serpent of the Bagradas. This tale is from Silius,<sup>39</sup> where it forms part of a story told by an old man, who had been with Regulus in Africa during the First Punic War, to one of the Roman stragglers after the great defeat at Trasimenus. Silius had read of the affair in Livy (Book xviii, according to the *Periochae*). The story as it appears in *C* is very close to the Silian version.

This episode begins when Caesar, as he is sightseeing near Utica after Cato's death, comes upon a grove and cave close by the Bagradas River; in answer to his inquiry, a local countryman tells him of a monstrous serpent that in former times had dwelt in this spot. *C* 78. 31-79. 20 and *S* iv. 329-42 are equivalent, except that the comparison (*C* 79. 10-12),

The iawes of Taenarus, that balefull bound  
Twixt earth and hell, is not a blacker roome,  
To which, they say, the ghosts infernall come.

is lacking in *S*. Neither is it to be found in the corresponding passage of Silius, whom *C* here follows almost word for word, save in so far as it is implied in the epithet *Stygiūm*.<sup>40</sup> In describing this grove, *S* (iv. 337) reads: "nemus hoc ingressus . . . opacum," where this adjective adequately represents the Silian *Stygiūm*; once May had written *opacum*, the comparison, an amplification of *Stygiūm*, became otiose. *C* 79. 21-80. 12 and *S* iv. 343-63 correspond exactly, but *C* 80. 13-81. 18 and *S* iv. 364-78 present versions significantly different. Following Silius, *C* tells of three soldiers who had come with Regulus to

Africa in the First Punic War and who, when the Roman forces were encamped near Carthage, wandered down to the Bagradas to drink. One of the three is suddenly seized by the serpent while drinking; a second, Havens, tries to escape the beast by plunging into the river but is fished out and devoured; the third, Marus, escapes and reports the misadventure to his commander Regulus; but, before he finishes his report, the serpent appears, bent on annihilating the entire Roman force, whereupon a pitched battle begins between the Romans and the monster. Throughout this account *C* keeps very close to Silius, who gives the names of the two lost legionaries as Avens and Aquinus; in both Silius and *C* the surviving member of the trio is named Marus. In the *Punica* it is Aquinus who jumps into the river, and Avens is the one first caught by the serpent. In *C*, May, no doubt inadvertently, has Havens jump into the Bagradas; he does not give the name of the serpent's first victim. In the corresponding verses of *S* the horrible deeds of the serpent are related in general terms; the gist is the same, but the Silian personages are not present. This is a salutary change; for, while the legionaries properly figure in Silius, since the survivor Marus tells the story, it is fantastic to suppose that a local inhabitant in Caesar's time would be cognizant of such *minutiae*. *S* motivates the battle against the monster by stating without preamble that when Regulus was in Africa this serpent attacked his army. The descriptions of the battle (*C* 81. 18-83. 20; *S* iv. 392-442) correspond for the most part, although *S* characteristically is more succinct. The speech made by Regulus (*C* 82. 10-15; Silius vi. 242-47) to rally his men as they fly in panic from the serpent is unrepresented in *S*, and the spear that Regulus hurls to turn the tide is thrown, in *S*, by

<sup>39</sup> *Punica* vi. 140-293.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 146, qualifying *nemus* in the following verse.

an unidentified hand. The Silian touch of two arrows simultaneously putting out the eyes of the monster, taken over by *C* (82. 30-32) with substitution of "piles" for Silius' *sagittae*,<sup>41</sup> has not been taken over by *S*, nor has the detail of Regulus' marveling at the size of the serpent's corpse. Silius' epilogue (vi. 283-90), in which the nymphs of the Bagradas mourn the monster and Roman augurs foretell retribution for its death, which *C* paraphrases (83. 11-20), has similarly been excised.

In revising the version of this episode given by Silius and *C*, May doggedly eliminated Silian detail inappropriate to the story in its new setting. This is the more meritorious in that in writing the Latin *S* the temptation freely to take over Silius' graceful verses must have been great.

Finally, the detail that *C* had found in *BAf* (89. 1-2), that Caesar after Thapsus proceeded to Hadrumetum via Uzzita (*C* 77. 28-29), which is neither interesting nor significant, does not appear in *S*.

The copious descriptions of Caesar's triumphs of 46, which occupy most of the fifth book, are, in the main, equivalent in *C* and *S*. Again *S* is somewhat less diffuse; missing are 86. 28-33 (various rivers pictured in a triumphal procession), 87. 5-18 (a catalogue of honors decreed Caesar by a subservient senate), 87. 23-28 (a comparison of the horses that drew Caesar's chariot to those of Rhesus), 90. 31-34 (the reddening of the water as Scipio jumps overboard after stabbing himself). This last bit of description had already figured at *C* 70. 13 (*S* iv. 129) and is more appropriate to Scipio's drowning than to its pictorial representation.

The account of Spain has been shorn of much topographical detail by the excision of 94. 27-95. 24. Spain has by this time been described sufficiently for the

purposes of the poem; this additional information is no more necessary than that on the Nile cut by *S* in revising the first book, and it is of less intrinsic interest.

In the latter part of this book May has included an episode telling of the loves of Hercules and Pyrene, an etiological fable which he found in Silius (iii. 420-41). As was the case with the serpent of the Bagradas, *S* condenses the Silian account, while *C* incorporates it with little alteration. The speech of Hercules upon finding the torn body of Pyrene (97. 13-18) *S* reduces to v. 264-65:

fata Deosque  
multum inexcusavit lacrimans.

In addition to abridging this episode, *S* in the course of revision inserted v. 271: "ut iuga tota tenet Bacchus Nyseia sepultus." This sentiment is neither in Silius nor in *C*; it echoes *BC* viii. 801: "et iuga tota vacant Bromio Nyseia" (which alludes to Bacchus' burial place and is here both appropriate and ornamental).

Throughout his account of the geography, meteorology, and population of Spain, May drew copiously on Strabo's third book, but a good many Strabonian particulars included in *C* have vanished from *S*. The picturesque, if lengthy, account of the Turdetani (*C* 98. 5-99. 14), in whose country the presence of gold near the surface of the soil constituted a continual pretext for attack, which, save for the moralizing, comes from Strabo iii. 8-9 (pp. 146-47), is not found in *S*. The catalogue of Spanish troops has been curtailed on revision by the omission of *C* 100. 7-10:

From Sucro's bankes come Hedetan supplies,  
And from the loftie Towers of Setabis:  
The Vettes, the Oretanians too,  
And th' ensignes of Parnassian Castulo.

The Vettes and Oretanians are mentioned together by Strabo (iii. 6, p. 139); the other names come from Silius' cata-

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 274.



logue of Spanish troops in Hannibal's army.<sup>42</sup>

The following passages where *C* has been pruned in the process of revision do not call for individual comment: 85. 4-5, 88. 29, 90. 17-18, 92. 32-34, 93. 13-14, 97. 2-3, 99. 27-28.

Early in the sixth book, which tells the story of the defeat of the sons of Pompey in Spain, a substitution occurs noteworthy for the light it throws on May's technique of revision:

To impious warre through stormes as rough  
they goe  
As would the greediest venturing Merchant  
doe  
For Parma's wealthy fleeces, Spaines rich ore  
Or brightest gemmes from th' Erythraean  
shore [*C* 104. 15-18].

tantisque ruebat  
militis impietas ad proelia dira procellis  
quantis mercator, quamvis avidissimus, undas  
aequoreas tentare neget; nec vellera Parmae,  
Indum ebur, aut rubro pretiosas aequore  
conchas  
auderet tali ratibus conquirere caelo [*S* vi.  
23-28].

Why was "Spaines rich ore" replaced by *Indum ebur*? The conflict of the merchant's greed and his fear of the dangers of the sea is a Horatian commonplace.<sup>43</sup> As May revised *C*, the notion of the greedy merchant recalled Horace to his mind, and, remembering or referring to the three relevant Horatian passages (the third is the familiar *Carm.* i. 31), he recast his verses, influenced especially by the ode.<sup>44</sup>

The duration of Caesar's march from

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *ibid.* iii. 372-73: "Hedetana [old reading] cohors, quam Sucro rigentibus undis/atque altrix celsa mittebat Saetabis arce" and iii. 391: "fulget praecipuis Parnasia Castulo signis."

<sup>43</sup> *Epiat.* i. 1. 45-46: "impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos/per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa per ignis"; i. 16. 71: "naviget ac mediis hiemet mercator in undis."

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *Carm.* i. 31. 6: "non aurum aut ebur Indicum"; 11, "mercator . . ."; 13-14, "quippe ter et quater/anno revisens aequor Atlanticum/impune."

Rome to Saguntum is given by *C* (106. 12) as seventeen days, upon the authority of Orosius,<sup>45</sup> who alone offers this bit of precise information. *S*, for reasons of metrical convenience, changes this figure to *dena bis luce*. The number seventeen is unimportant; twenty illustrates the speed of Caesar's march (which May here desires to stress) about as effectively. That the exact figure occurs in *C* is evidence of its anteriority. Time and again *C* has been shown to adhere more literally to its source than does *S*; therefore, *C* (although on occasion *S* may check the source anew) normally intervenes between *S* and the passage from which this poem derives. Metrical difficulty caused the omission of *Idubeda* (*C* 106. 25).

*C* explains the beleaguering of Corduba thus (106. 32-34):

Either to take that wealthy Towne, or draw  
Pompey from Ulla's siege; the first in vaine  
Caesar assay'd, the last he did obtaine,

which accords very closely with Dio xliii. 32. 3, where it is stated that, on the one hand, Caesar hoped to obtain Corduba by treason, but the second and main reason for the operation was to draw away the younger Gnaeus Pompey. *S* explains Caesar's move against Corduba not as made (vi. 96) with the hope of capturing that town, *non spe potiundae*, but merely to draw Pompey away from Ulla, which it at once successfully brought about (99). This is more dramatic and more in harmony with the fast-moving and effective Caesar of Lucan's poem. May can hardly be supposed to have consulted Dio as he revised *C* at this point; for, while he often leaves out historical material contained in his source, he does not elsewhere in *S* contradict it.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Adversum Paganos* vi. 16. 6.

<sup>46</sup> Thus the inconsequential detail in 107. 9-10: "maigre the feeble aid/Munatius brought" (Munatius had attempted to prevent Ategua from falling into the hands of the Caesarians (Dio xliii. 34. 5)) is not found in *S*.

*C* 107. 10-108. 14 contains a eulogy of Augustus, introduced by the omen of an eagle perching on the young Octavius' tent at Ategua and modeled on the *Laus Neronis* in the first book of *BC* (33-66). In the course of this *May* (107. 25-30) writes: For thee, great Prince, and thy insuing State Was Rome opprest, and Iulius fortunate; For thee were Marius crimes, and Sylla's wrought:

For thee was Thapsus and Pharsalia fought,  
That Rome in those dire Tragedies might see  
What horrid dangers follow'd liberty.

This entire eulogy has been omitted by *S*. As has already been observed, in the period between the publication of *C* and that of *S* *May* became less tolerant of monarchs and of monarchy; in this respect his career presents a curious, although incomplete, analogy to that of Lucan, who began by praising Nero and finally was put to death by him, whereas *May*, too, started out by praising monarchy, but in his case the roles of poet and monarch subsequently were reversed.<sup>47</sup>

The attack by Bogud, which initiated the rout of the Pompeians at Munda, *C* (113. 26) introduces without explanation, whereas *S* gives as the reason for Bogud's maneuver that he was *praedae perductus amore* (vi. 242). This motive is not in the historical accounts; *S* takes it from Lucan's description of the battle at Pharsalus, where Caesar holds out the hope of booty as he urges the final assault of the Pompeian camp (*BC* vii. 736-46). In reworking this portion of *C* into Latin, *May* had Lucan's famous battle scene constantly in mind. This is attested by repeated verbal echoes and, in this instance, the borrowing of a precise detail of motivation.

<sup>47</sup> Charles I was beheaded by the parliamentary party in 1649. *May* had sided with Parliament since the open break in 1640. His sympathies must have been becoming increasingly republican for some time before that.

*C* 115. 5-12 (the flight and death of Gnaeus Pompey the younger after Munda) have been reduced by *S* to less than two lines (vi. 274-75). Since this is shortly to be recounted in detail by Cenonius (*C* 116. 32-118. 5; *S* vi. 304-5), it is unnecessary to anticipate the story at this point. The observations contained in *C* 116. 13-24 have not been included in *S*. They come from Florus, where Caesar is said on this occasion to have been glum before the battle;<sup>48</sup> *C* transfers this depression until after the battle, when Caesar is represented as greatly distressed by the slaughter just effected:

Scarce can the glories, that it [Munda] brings  
outweigh  
The inward sorrow for so blacke a day [116. 23-24].

This remorse is not only at variance with the Lucanian characterization of Julius Caesar (Lucan has him taking a sadistic relish in death and gore after Pharsalus)<sup>49</sup> but incongruous to the milder Caesar of *C*. Although less harsh in this respect than Lucan, *S* is nevertheless more severe toward Caesar than is *C*, and the elimination of the passage cited above may be explained by this tendency.<sup>50</sup>

In the seventh and final book, which is concerned with the last days and death of Caesar, this relative severity toward Cae-

<sup>48</sup> II. 13. 79: "sane et ipse ante aciem maestior non ex more Caesar, sive respectu fragilitatis humanae, sive nimiam prosperorum suspectam habens continuationem, vel eadem timens, postquam idem esse coeperat quod Pompelus."

<sup>49</sup> *BC* vii. 565-67 and 792-94.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the elimination of *C* 112. 19-21: "When Caesar's eyes./That drie, had view'd whole Nations tragedies/Began to melt." Not only do these verses represent Caesar as unduly compassionate, but they are unfortunate in that they recall *BC* ix. 1044-46: "qui sicco lumine campos/viderat Emathios, uni tibi, Magne, negare/non audet gemitus," where Caesar is depicted as a monster of hypocrisy. Although in reality so cold-blooded that all the bloodshed of Pharsalus had left him unmoved, he does not dare not to feign grief at the sight of Pompey's embalmed head.

sar and his government is manifest in the following changes: *C* 121. 11-14:

And to the gods they willingly forgive  
The losse of that unsafe prerogative  
Their libertie, and gladly would adore  
A safe and peacefull Scepter;

has become (*S* vii. 12-13):

plebs libertatem, sola contenta salute  
Romula proiecit,

in which reference to the disadvantages of *libertas* has been suppressed; *C* 121. 14-122. 6:

for the more

His might in warre their terrours did increase  
The more his vertues now secure their peace:  
No better guardian, wish they, to the State  
Than mighty Caesar, whose unconquer'd Fate  
So long prevail'd 'gainst all opposing powers,  
And crush'd so many great competitors,

which are in the main laudatory of Caesar's regime, have given way to the dry *S* vii. 13-14:

nec post tot proelia pacem  
quamvis cum domino veniat pax ista, recusat,  
which echo the sinister prophecy of Figulus in the first book of the *BC* (i. 670): "cum domino pax ista venit." (Figulus has prayed that the civil war with all its horror last as long as possible, since he foresees that it will end with the establishment of tyranny).

*S* vii. 82 is an addition made at the time of revision. The poet here brings out the ominous infatuation of Caesar in submitting to the senate for approval what he has already decided to do. In the speech (*C* 125. 11-127. 18; *S* vii. 87-125) which Caesar makes upon this occasion, *C* 127. 1-18 have been excised, with the effect of putting Caesar in a less favorable light; for in these lines he dwells on the patriotic motives for his projected expedition against the Parthians. *C* here approaches proximity, and this excision improves Cae-

sar's speech in that it shortens it;<sup>51</sup> but at the same time it makes Caesar appear more arbitrary and less concerned with the public weal save in so far as such concern contributes to his own aggrandizement. In analogous fashion, by condensing *C* 127. 31-128. 2:

No vertue, bountie, grace, nor clemency  
Could long secure usurped Sovereignty:  
For more that power to Citizens borne free  
Distastfull was than benefits could be  
Sweet and delightsome: which soone hasten'd  
on  
Th' untimely death of Caesar

to *S* vii. 136: "Fata ducis mortem accelerant," the tone of the poem, here already relatively Lucanian in *C*, has been rendered more so, in that Caesar's virtues are no longer mentioned nor his death qualified as untimely. *C* and *S* (133. 19-23; vii. 267-71) agree in calling Caesar's assassination a vain attempt to recover *libertas*, which was doomed never to return to Rome. In *C* eight verses follow (which *S* does not contain) enumerating the misfortunes to result from this act:

in stead of freedome now  
More desolation, Tragedies and woe  
After this slaughter must againe ensue  
And all the people that dire action rue  
Which they desir'd. Philippi's balefull day,  
Perusia's siege, and fatall Mutina,  
With Leuca's fleet shall make afflicted Rome  
Truly lament ore slaughter'd Caesar's Tombe.

These verses, which foreshadow the events of the civil war subsequent to Caesar's death, are reminiscent of the following lines of Lucan's *Laus Neronis*:

his, Caesar, Perusina fames Mutinaeque labores  
accedant fatis et quas premit aspera classes  
Leucas et ardenti servilia bella sub Aetna  
[*BC* i. 41-43],

<sup>51</sup> This speech is further abbreviated by the omission of 125. 13 (historical precedents) and 126. 26-27 (Crassus' ghost).

with the difference that Caesar's assassination is represented as a mistake. This sentiment is inconsistent with the increased hostility toward Caesar shown by *S* and has therefore been eliminated.

By the title of the English *Continuation*, May makes plain that his design is not to finish Lucan's account of the civil war but to continue it to the death of Caesar. It is understandable that, once he made this event his stopping point, he would increasingly tend to regard it as the fitting and natural ending for the poem; this crystallization appears to have taken place in May's mind by the time he set about his revision. Now a republican poem of which the assassination of Caesar is the climax and end must present this act as justified and its perpetrators as men of moral respectability, and May makes a far greater effort to achieve this in *S* than he does in *C*.

This hostility to Caesar is further illustrated by the omission of *C* 137. 20-24:

The death of me  
That have already reach'd the height of all  
Glory and State that can to man befall,  
And wrought my farthest ends, can never be  
So much mine owne as their calamitie.

It is true that these are Caesar's own words, uttered in an attempt to dispel Calphurnia's fears; but, in representing the assassination of Caesar as not only disastrous but stupid, they form an indictment of the conspiracy, which *S* consistently attempts to palliate. For example, in speaking of Cassius, the poet, *C* (129. 5-7) says:

Now had Rhamnusia Nemesis possest  
In all her blackest formes, the vengefull brest  
Of fierie Cassius,

while in the corresponding *S* vii. 163-65 there is no mention of vindictiveness, and *C* 130. 11-12 have been recast to Cassius' advantage, in that the desire to restore

liberty replaces envy as his prime motive for killing Caesar. In the very act of assassination the conspirators hesitate an instant before the first blow is struck. The overcoming of this hesitation is motivated in a manner more sympathetic to the conspirators in *S* than in *C*, for, together with *vindicta*, the former cites *libertatis amor* (vii. 407) as the factors that renewed their faltering resolution, in contrast to *C* 140. 4-8:

But shame forbid them to relent; the knot  
Among too many conscious breasts was ty'd  
To let them start; and on the other side  
Revenge encourag'd by the multitude  
Of Actors, enter'd, and all feares subdu'd.

Revenge appears as a motive in both versions, but the shame and ignoble fear of denunciation of *C* have been supplanted in *S* by the more praiseworthy love of freedom.

The general tendency toward concision is once more manifest throughout this book. The elimination of two passages listing honors decreed Caesar (122. 24-34, 123. 12-15) and of some arid lines (123. 23-124. 6) chiefly concerned with the Julian reform of the calendar needs no further comment, nor does the omission of three of the fifteen conspirators named in *C* by the Latin version.<sup>52</sup>

Historical accuracy is the reason for the recasting of 139. 31-32, where May again makes Caesar reach Brundisium on his famous night voyage from the coast of Epirus, to vii. 402, where nothing is said about Caesar's reaching his destination.<sup>53</sup> It likewise explains the excision made *C* 128. 23-24, where it is said that Marcus Brutus was, at the time of the conspiracy,

<sup>52</sup> Further omissions of this sort are 125. 13, 128. 31-32, 129. 11-14, 130. 17-18, 131. 31-32. The compression of 138. 25-139. 6 to *S* vii. 381-82 should also be cited in this connection.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the discussion of the same correction by *S* iii. 37, above, p. 154.

governor of Cisalpine Gaul. In reality, he had held this post two years previously. The false statement that Decimus was propraetor of Transalpine Gaul still stands in *S*. (Caesar had promised him Cisalpine for 44.) Apparently, the inconsistency of Marcus being represented as urban praetor (128. 25) disturbed May sufficiently to make him remove the incongruity as he revised his poem; the second error, less apparent, escaped his notice.

Once *S* introduces a historical error where there had been none in *C*. Together with other ominous happenings prior to Caesar's death *C* (134. 23-25) speaks of the tears shed by the horses, which,

when the warre begun  
He crossing ore the streame of Rubicon  
Had consecrated, and for ever freed.

This passage has become in *S* (vii. 290): "Nam quos victor equos finito Marte sacrarat." This portent is attested only by Suetonius (*DI* 81), where it is said that Caesar dedicated the horses in question to the divinity of the Rubicon as he crossed the stream and set them free immediately after. May wrote *C* with this passage fresh in his mind. Since Suetonius wrote in prose and consequently would be of little help in the composition of a hexameter version, there was no reason that May should have had him open before him as he revised. It would appear a priori prob-

able that the horses that wept for Caesar were those that had been with him on his campaigns; and Virgil's account of the weeping of Pallas' horse Aethon at his master's funeral procession<sup>54</sup> may have contributed to the introduction of this involuntary error.

From this examination of the particularities of *C* and *S* it will have become evident, it is hoped, not only that *S* was composed after *C* but that it constitutes not a translation but a thorough revision of the English poem. This revision was motivated in great part by formal considerations; May strove to make his *Supplementum* more compact and less discursive than the *Continuation* by the elimination of material historical and episodic that had little dramatic or ornamental value. There has further been observed a tendency, consonant with the increasingly republican position of the author, to make the poem more republican in tone and especially to bring the characterization of Caesar more into conformity with that of Lucan's *Bellum civile*, as contrasted with the less portentous Caesar of the historians from whom May derived the material which forms the framework of his poem. It may therefore be concluded that the *Supplementum* is the mature and definitive version of May's work.

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<sup>54</sup> *Aen.* xi. 89-90.



# THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COUNTING OF VOTES

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THE practice of taking formal votes in political assemblies and of counting the votes is one of those inventions which, when once made, seem so obvious that they are taken for granted. Consequently, the average observer does not realize that any invention has been necessary; yet it would be hard to point to any single innovation which has influenced more profoundly the development of political institutions. The neglect of the subject by students of Greek history has been particularly unfortunate, for they seem to have before them the key to the invention as far as Western civilization is concerned. To be sure, since direct evidence is lacking, the best that can be done is to fix a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* and to try to reduce the interval between them to a minimum. It is the purpose of the present paper to fix in this manner the approximate date of the adoption of the practice by the Greeks, to examine the possible channels through which it may have entered, and to see how the forms of government and the social institutions of the Greeks and the Romans were affected by the different ways in which the votes were taken and counted. It may be said in advance that the *terminus post quem* is supplied by Homeric institutions and the *terminus ante quem* by the reforms of Solon. In other words, the period of origin appears to be the seventh century B.C.

This is as far as my own investigations can go. Yet it appears that when the date of origin has been fixed for the Greeks, it has thereby been fixed for Western civilization in general. At any rate, there seems

to be no trace of the usage in the political institutions of the ancient Near East.<sup>1</sup> As in the case of the analysis of Homeric institutions given below, the conclusion is not based merely on the absence of evidence. On the contrary, the positive evidence preserved seems to depict procedures of such a kind that they leave no room for a formal taking of votes. Of course, there may possibly have been some unrecorded cases of the counting of votes in early historic or prehistoric times; but, if so, the memory has been lost, and they do not seem to have influenced later development of political institutions. From the point of view of such development and influence, the first fruitful adoption of the usage was among the Greeks. To cover all eventualities, it may be safest to admit that innovations which appear first among the Greeks of the seventh century before Christ may actually stem from some of their neighbors in Asia Minor. However, if that was the case with the use of votes, it was through Greek civilization that it was developed and transmitted.

Unfortunately the importance of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* for the present investigation makes it necessary to take a position on certain phases of the Homeric question. It is impossible to argue the question here or to do more than to make a dogmatic statement of agreement with the view now widely held that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* each owes its unity and approximately its present form to a single

<sup>1</sup> For one part of the Near East see Thorkild Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, II (1943), 159-72; for another, R. S. Hardy, "The Old Hittite Kingdom," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, LVIII (1941), 177-216 at 214-15.

great poet who employed an old technique and freely incorporated old expressions and material, some of which went back as far as the Mycenaean age. Of the two poems, the *Iliad* is slightly earlier. The date of composition is placed relatively late—say 700 B.C. or thereafter. There is disagreement concerning the origin of the *Odyssey*, whether it is a later work by the same poet or whether it is the work of a second poet. From the point of view of the present investigation this does not matter. What matters more is the date of the civilization described. Since the poet has utilized material of various ages, his descriptions reflect the cultures of several periods, with the predominant flavor or element being supplied by his own contributions. But what period is depicted in these? The poet of the *Iliad* apparently was aware that he was telling an old story belonging to what we know as the Mycenaean age. Has he tried and succeeded in maintaining the flavor and depicting the social background of that period? Or has he given a picture of the society contemporary with himself? It is obvious that, in order to depict accurately in his own contributions a society removed several centuries from himself, he would have to be not only a poet but also a very meticulous scholar. It is becoming increasingly clear that the poet's own contributions were considerable and that the social and economic conditions depicted were contemporary rather than Mycenaean. The most that he was able to do was to describe a rather old-fashioned society—that of his grandfather or father or his own childhood rather than the time in which he was actually composing the poem. The situation for the *Odyssey* is similar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> From the point of view of the use of the poems as a source for the study of institutions, M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (1933) remains the best introduction to the Homeric question, though the author exaggerates the Mycenaean elements in the institu-

The government depicted in the Homeric epics is one by king, council of nobles or elders, and popular assembly. It is the direct ancestor of the government later seen in the average Greek city-state with the king replaced by annual magistrates and with the council and assembly developing somewhat differently in various places, depending on local circumstances. What is important for us is that neither in the Homeric council nor in the assembly was a formal vote taken. The meetings were summoned by the king or some other prominent leader and normally were completely under the control of the nobles. When the assembly had been called to order, anyone, in modern parlance, who was "given the floor," was handed a staff by a herald as a symbol of his right to speak. In this way it was easy to refuse to recognize undesirable men or men not belonging to the right social class. The only apparent exception, Thersites, who in a meeting described in the second book of the *Iliad* abused Agamemnon, seems to have done his bawling without this recognition and before the meeting had been brought to order again after a disturbance. When the meeting had broken up in disorder and Odysseus was bringing the crowd back, the others had sat down, and only Thersites kept talking. It is implied that this was not the first offense but that he had sinned repeatedly. This, however, does not make his action any more regular. Normally, the common man was not given a chance to speak himself but only to shout applause when his betters had spoken. Any choice put before

tions depicted. For references to further discussions see my review of Per Krarup, *Homer og det homeriske Spørgsmaal* (Copenhagen, 1945) in *CP*, XLII (1947), 190-94. Cf. also articles in *AJA*, Vol. LII, No. 1 (March, 1948), particularly G. E. Mylonas, "Homeric and Mycenaean Burial Customs" (pp. 56-81), and G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Archaeology in Homeric Asia Minor" (pp. 135-55).



him was merely a choice between the views of two leaders, and generally there was not even this. If one leader had spoken and been applauded and if no one spoke in opposition, that ended the matter.<sup>3</sup> Even when the assembly did decide between two rival proposals, there was no formal vote or counting of votes, but the last proposal to be presented and applauded was considered adopted. Sometimes direct action replaced applause, and the plan suggested was put into execution at once.

The failure to take a formal vote in the meetings described cannot be due to accident. In some cases the lack of this procedure was a decided handicap. Often the matters decided were of great importance, involving at times even the rejection of a proposal presented by the king. A review of a few meetings will make this clear and will also suggest a possible manner in which the practice of taking formal votes may have been introduced.

Probably the best-remembered of all descriptions of meetings in the two epics is the one in the second book of the *Iliad* which includes Agamemnon's ruse to test the people by proposing to return home, the quick reaction of the army, the restoration of order, and the outburst by Thersites already mentioned. At the outset, Agamemnon summons the assembly but first meets with the council of elders and announces to it his plan of testing the

army by suggesting that it return home. The others are then instructed to speak against this proposal and thus restrain the army. Nestor expresses a sort of approval, and the councilors proceed to the assembly. Such a preliminary meeting of the council is not necessary, and there is no formal *probouleuma* or preparation of business to be brought before the assembly. The procedure is more like that of a small gang of politicians getting together to manipulate the meeting. The scheme, however, did not work too well but was spoiled by the habit of expecting from the assembly nothing but informal approval of propositions put before it. This time, when Agamemnon had spoken, the expression of approval did not take the usual form of mere shouts. Instead, the people immediately rushed to the ships to embark, and it was necessary for Athene to inspire Odysseus to drive the people back to the meeting. It was this confusion which gave Thersites his opportunity. Had a formal vote been required, the trouble might have been avoided. The delay would have given the other leaders an opportunity to get up and speak their pieces and thus to restrain the people. At any rate, the chances would have been better, though, if the excitement had been sufficient, normal procedure might have been ignored. Be that as it may, the entire incident makes it clear that votes were not taken in assemblies at the time. This is shown by the manner in which Odysseus addressed the "man of the people" when he drove him back to the meeting with the advice that he listen to his betters, for he himself was of no account either in war or in deliberation. These are not the kind of words which would be addressed to a member of the sovereign people who by a mere casting of his vote could override the proposals of the nobles. It would take us too far afield to stop and notice further

<sup>3</sup> For a description of Homeric institutions, in addition to histories of Greece and handbooks, see especially Thomas Day Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age* (London and New York, 1907). The sketch given above is based on material drawn from both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The *Iliad*, though it is a poem of war, has fully as good material for the study of the normal functioning of the Homeric state as does its companion epic. Agamemnon corresponds to the king, the other kings constitute the council, and the meetings in the assembly of the army seem to reproduce the procedure in the small communities of the poet's own time. The influence of the normal peacetime procedure goes so far that the council of army commanders is referred to as a "council of elders" (*Il.* ii. 53) or merely as "elders" (*Il.* ii. 404; ix. 70 and 89).

Agamemnon's inept technique at the meeting and the obvious realization on the part of the poet that the common man, if tactlessly handled, might give his leaders trouble.

At another meeting of the assembly described in the first part of *Iliad* ix, Agamemnon again—this time, apparently, in all seriousness—proposed to return home. Diomed spoke in opposition and was applauded. If there had been no other speaker, this might have ended the matter, and the decision would have been to remain and fight. But, had the matter ended there, no plans for immediate action would have been adopted—an outcome which might have been disastrous, since the decision made would have been contrary to the advice of the commander-in-chief. Worse still, since Diomed suggested to Agamemnon that the way was open for him and his immediate followers to return home, the result might have been a division of the forces. To be sure, Agamemnon might have overridden or vetoed the proposal of Diomed, if he had dared. This, at least, is the implication of the procedure at other meetings. In the present case it is doubtful whether he would have either wished or dared. The situation was saved by Nestor, who warned against civil war and proposed that sentries should be posted, that Agamemnon should assume or retain the command, and that he immediately should invite the elders, i.e., the council, to a feast and follow the best advice given. The latter suggestion obviously implied that Agamemnon for the time being was discredited and that some such expedient was needed to save the situation. All obeyed Nestor's suggestions. This, of course, does not mean a vote but only general assent, which may have been indicated by silence and immediate action rather than by the usual applause.

At the meeting just described Nestor found it necessary to warn against civil war. A number of meetings described in the *Odyssey* illustrate this danger and show the difficulties involved in an appeal to the people when there is no opportunity to take a vote and thereby reach a binding decision. Thus, after the fall of Troy, the Greeks are reported to have held a meeting at which Menelaus urged immediate departure, while Agamemnon wished the host to remain and sacrifice to Athene. The result was that some left with Menelaus and others stayed with Agamemnon.<sup>4</sup> Even more interesting is the meeting described in *Odyssey* ii at which Telemachus appealed against the suitors. All he could do was to urge direct action, in other words, civil war, and then to withdraw somewhat from this position when the suitors remained defiant and the people were not ready to support him. Finally, after the slaying of the suitors, another meeting in Ithaca resulted in over half of those present deciding on action.<sup>5</sup> Here there actually is incipient civil war.

It was these meetings and the like which caused Gustave Glotz to suggest that the vote was a preventive remedy for civil war<sup>6</sup> and thus to indicate the possible origin of the taking of votes. Other explanations have to be considered. Meanwhile, it may be noted that such meetings indicate one way in which the rule of the nobles or oligarchs broke down. Thus Thersites, often considered an unsuccessful forerunner of the later tyrants, is not the only indication in Homer of the beginning of popular revolution. When leaders began to appeal against each other to the people, their united front began to break down and the people consequently to acquire influence. The quarrel between

<sup>4</sup> *Od.* iii. 136-57.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xxiv. 420-66.

<sup>6</sup> *La Cité grecque* (Paris, 1928), p. 65.

Achilles and Agamemnon in the *Iliad* has some bearing on this question, but the appeal of Telemachus already mentioned is in a class by itself. While other quarrels grew out of questions of broad policy, Telemachus appealed to the people on account of purely personal grievances. That this was unusual is shown by the speech of Aegyptius opening the meeting. He wonders who has called the assembly, and he expects to hear a report of the return of the army—i.e., the Ithacans who had sailed to Troy—or something else of public interest. Telemachus answers that he has called the meeting and that he has nothing of the kind to report but only his own grievances. If Telemachus is to be considered a representative of the royal power, this is an appeal of the king to the commons against the nobles. In view of his anomalous position at the time, however, it seems better to consider this an appeal of one noble for help against other nobles.

The relatively primitive usages in later times of one Greek state, namely, Sparta, largely confirm the picture of earlier institutions given above. The procedure in the *apella*, the Spartan assembly, retained much of the character of that in the Homeric assemblies and seems to have involved only those changes necessary in order to pass a formal resolution and elect magistrates. The assembly was still addressed by leading men—kings, magistrates, and foreign ambassadors—and voted on proposals brought before it. When a vote was taken on such proposals, it was given by acclamation. This is little more than the old method of shouting to indicate agreement with a speaker, except that now both those favoring and those opposing are asked to express themselves. This procedure is described only once, namely, for the meeting in 432 B.C., at which the Spartans voted that the Atheni-

ans had been guilty of breaking the treaty (the Thirty Years' Peace of 445); but Thucydides specifically remarks in this connection that the Spartans "make their decisions by shouting and not by voting tokens."<sup>7</sup> Thus we are safe in concluding that, as late as when Thucydides wrote, this was the normal method of voting. The same description shows that a doubtful vote might be followed by an actual division of the house. Sthenelaïdas, the presiding ephor, pretended that he was unable to determine which shout was the louder, and ordered a division. This, of course, is a method of voting which is very advantageous for those who wish to advertise their views but has a tendency to cause the timid to vote in agreement with the majority or with some individual whose displeasure they fear. Thus probably several who had shouted with the nays voted in the division with the majority, and, consequently, the sentiment favoring war appeared stronger than it actually was. This seems to have been the purpose of Sthenelaïdas. The expedient is mentioned by Thucydides as though it were a bright idea on the part of the ephor, but it is natural to believe that this method or, possibly, voting by show of hands had been used on earlier occasions. Nevertheless, it was still a special and not the normal procedure.

It is in elections, however, that the Spartan method of voting seems most primitive. The best description in our sources is one of the election of the mem-

<sup>7</sup> *Καὶ οὕτως γὰρ βοῶν καὶ οὐ ψήφω* (Thuc. I. 87. 2). In his usually excellent *Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, I (Oxford, 1945), 252, A. W. Gomme has an unfortunate note on *βοῶν*, in which he describes it as "not a confused crying of *Aye* and *No*, but, at least according to Plutarch, in due order and quietly." Then as evidence he quotes a passage from Plutarch's description of the election of members of the *gerusia*. However, the persons described there as acting in such an orderly and quiet manner are the candidates and not the voters. Thus the evidence of Plutarch gives us no excuse for trying to get rid of the natural meaning of Thucydides' words.

bers of the gerusia or council of elders. The twenty-eight elected members, who served on this board together with the two kings, were elected for life. Hence there would be an election only when a vacancy occurred, which means that normally only one member was to be elected. The following method was used: The judges were locked up in a building out of sight of the assembly and could hear only the shouting. The candidates were brought before the assembly one at a time in an order determined by drawing lots. When the turn of a particular candidate came, he passed through the assembly without himself uttering a word—probably because if he had been permitted to speak he might have been identified by his voice. It was then the task of the judges to determine which candidate was greeted by “the most and the loudest shouting,”<sup>8</sup> and he was declared elected. The account implies that the judges, as it were, did not merely measure the noise but tried to determine which candidate had the greatest number of supporters and to make allowance if some candidate was backed by a small group with exceptionally strong voices. This procedure is described by Plutarch in his account of the gerontes. It must be the mode of election referred to by Aristotle, who calls it “childish.”<sup>9</sup> He uses the same adjective in connection with the method of election of ephors<sup>10</sup> and undoubtedly had the same or a similar procedure in mind. To be sure, since there were five ephors to be elected annually, the method does not seem quite so well suited to them, but it may have been adapted to the situation by the simple expedient of electing one ephor at a time and then, when the first position had been

filled, proceeding to the second. Plutarch, too, in his description remarks that the Spartans settled contests between candidates as well as other questions by shouting, thus implying that this was their normal method of voting. For a method which sounds more natural to us, it is necessary to turn to the gerusia and ephors acting together as a law court. King Pausanias was brought to trial after his intervention at Athens in 403 B.C., when he helped to restore democracy in that city. The court consisted of the twenty-eight gerontes, the five ephors, and the other king. The trial ended in acquittal, fourteen gerontes and the second king voting for condemnation, the others—that is, fourteen gerontes and the five ephors—voting for acquittal.<sup>11</sup> Since it was known how individuals voted, it seems clear that no secret ballot was used. In all likelihood the voting was oral and probably by turn or by roll call. It is tempting to argue that here, too, there was the least possible departure from earlier usages, but that may not be warranted. Open voting would be natural in a small group of councilors or magistrates used to consulting each other and working together.

Sparta has been considered as an example of a state which departed the least possible from earlier usages. It is now time to turn to states with more highly developed systems, to see how early we can find traces of the counting of votes. At Athens, before the reforms of Solon, the magistrates were elected by the Areopagus,<sup>12</sup> itself a council consisting of former magistrates. Solon transferred the election to the people, that is, to the assembly.<sup>13</sup> Now

<sup>8</sup> Pausanias *lil.* 5. 2; R. J. Bonner and Gertrude Smith, “Administration of Justice in Sparta,” *CP*, XXXVII (1942), 113–29 at 117 f.

<sup>9</sup> Aristotle *Ath. pol.* 8. 2.

<sup>10</sup> In making the above statement, I follow Aristotle *Politics* 1274 a 16, where he lists the election of magistrates as one of the chief powers given by Solon

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch *Lycurgus* 26. 5: *ὅτω δὲ πλείστη γίνοντο καὶ μέγιστη [ἡ κραυγὴ]*.

<sup>9</sup> *Politics* 1271 a 10.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 1270 b 28.

for the bearing of this on our problem. It is clear that, when officials were elected by the people, there must have been some method of taking votes and counting them or, at least, estimating their relative numbers. Probably the vote, as later, was given by show of hands, in which case it is unlikely that an exact count was taken except in closely contested elections. Likewise, the Areopagus, when it elected magistrates, must have used similar methods. It was a body of ex-magistrates retaining membership for life, probably nine new members being admitted each year. Thus it was too large to elect magistrates by merely sitting around and chatting and reaching an agreement without a vote. Moreover, Solon allowed appeals from judicial decisions of magistrates to the popular *heliaia*, a mass meeting of citizens. Here the people certainly must have voted and cannot have given its verdict by shouting approval or disapproval when the litigants spoke. The Areopagus, too, both before and after the time of Solon, functioned at times as a law court. Certainly, in this connection formal votes must have been taken, and it is natural to believe that the worthy Areopagites did not always wish their fellows to know just

to the people. A few lines earlier he has also listed the election of magistrates as an aristocratic element in the constitution of Solon (1273 b 40) and stated that he did not alter the practice of electing magistrates (1274 a 2; cf. 1281 b 33), that is, he did not substitute the use of lot for election by vote. He did, however, substitute election by the people for election by the Areopagus. Also the stories of civil strife connected with the election of archons in the period immediately after his reforms (*Ath. pol.* 13) indicate that at that time archons were elected by vote and not chosen by lot. Thus, Aristotle is wrong when he states in *Ath. pol.* 8. 1 that Solon introduced the practice of selecting archons by lot from candidates picked in advance. An analysis of this passage will show that he does not have direct evidence for his statement but is reconstructing from later institutions and survivals. The method is laudable in itself, but he has overlooked other evidence adduced later by himself, particularly the fact that the use of the lot for selecting archons was adopted in 487—over a century after Solon's reforms.

how they voted and so made use of some form of secret voting. It may be well to recall that it was in the law courts that the use of the secret vote was most highly developed. Even more important, as noted below, the Greek words used in connection with voting indicate that the secret vote by means of voting tokens—and, therefore, the counting of votes—is as old as formal voting. This makes it virtually certain that it was used in the Areopagus and transferred to the people by Solon. In other words, the counting of votes must have been used at Athens as early as the seventh century B.C.

Was it employed in other places even earlier? In this connection it may be well to glance at the riddle of Greek Asia Minor and particularly Ionia. The cultural primacy of Ionia in this period was so marked in other spheres that it would not be surprising to find her in the lead also in the development of political institutions.<sup>14</sup> On this point there is at least one piece of evidence to be considered—a constitutional inscription from Chios.<sup>15</sup> It can be dated only by epigraphical means and is usually placed about 600 B.C., the original editor, Wilamowitz, holding that in all likelihood it antedates Solon. The interpretation is difficult, but certain important points are clear. First and foremost, the document indicates that Chios at the time possessed or adopted a constitution which shows a popular modification of an earlier aristocratic government. Two sets of magistrates are mentioned: "kings," apparently magistrates chosen from among the aristo-

<sup>14</sup> In an important article, "Ionia and Greece in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.," *JHS*, LXVI (1946), 67-98 (printed, 1948), R. M. Cook challenges the common view concerning the primacy of Ionia but admits that "in literature without doubt the early Ionians led." Certainly, at least the possibility of Ionian leadership also in the development of political institutions should be considered.

<sup>15</sup> Now most easily available in M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1933), No. 1.



crats, and demarchs, apparently newer popular or democratic magistrates comparable to the archons at Athens and the ephors at Sparta. The existence of a "popular" council suggests that there also was an aristocratic council and that the city had two councils as did Athens after Solon. The existence of "laws of the people" indicates a relatively advanced form of government. However, since a clause provides that the popular council, which is to meet once a month, is to hear the law suits appealed to it and to perform the other work of the people, it is likely, as most interpreters have held, that these laws, too, were adopted by the council rather than by a popular assembly. If, then, as seems correct, the popular council, consisting of fifty members from each tribe in the citizen body, was elected, then the role of the people would be limited to the election of councilors and probably also of magistrates, and the government of the city would be a representative government. This would be natural at this stage of development. When the kingship common in early Greek states was weakened, the government next became aristocratic or oligarchic, with the chief power lodged in such a council as the Areopagus of Athens. A natural step in the democratic evolution would be to limit the power of the aristocratic council and to replace it by a more popular council. Athens, too, may have passed through a similar stage until the power of the council of five hundred was limited by an oath imposed upon it a few years after the reforms of Cleisthenes.<sup>16</sup> This stage, however, was so brief and was so soon followed by the sovereignty of the assembly that no theory of representative government seems to have been developed in the city-state.

To the interpretation of the inscription from Chios just given, it is possible to object that we cannot be sure that the adjective *λεκτή* applied to the council means that it was elected by votes rather than chosen by lot, though this has been the interpretation of the editors. Hence it may be well to point out that the entire development of Greek political institutions in this period suggests vote rather than lot. Though there is a religious aspect to the use of the lot, its use in the state for selecting magistrates and councilors seems to be political and secular.<sup>17</sup> It can be added that it also was introduced relatively late. If its use for selecting magistrates had been primitive and religious, we should expect the conservative Spartans to have selected their gerontes and magistrates in this manner. At Athens, if we can be sure that the lot was used for selecting members of the council as early as Cleisthenes, this is the earliest properly attested use. It is impossible to say how the members of the council of Solon were selected, but election by vote is more likely than sortition. As for the sortition of magistrates, it was first adopted in Athens in 487 B.C. There is also the consideration that, when the people were struggling to break the power of the upper classes, it would be natural to pick its leaders carefully, in other words, to elect them by vote and not to rely on the chances of the lot. Thus it seems relatively certain that the council of Chios was elected by vote. This means that some of the cities of Ionia may have adopted the vote in popular elections before it was so used at Athens. The popular council, the members of which were a multiple of fifty—fifty from each tribe, but the number of tribes is not known—was so large that it, too, must have employed voting. Much here is uncertain,

<sup>16</sup> R. J. Bonner and Gertrude Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, I (Chicago, 1930), 342-45.

<sup>17</sup> J. W. Headlam-Morley, *Election by Lot at Athens* (2d ed.; Cambridge, 1933).

but again the seventh century appears likely for the time of origin of the practice.

How did the taking of formal votes and the counting of votes originate? One explanation has been suggested more or less in the course of the discussion. It is likely that the vote was used early in such aristocratic councils as the Areopagus both for elections and for judicial decisions. It was next transferred to the popular assembly, as was done in Athens by Solon. This cannot be proved definitely, but it seems the most plausible channel for the introduction of the practice into city-states.

A second suggestion comes from the Homeric assemblies. In some of the meetings the subjects presented were such that disagreement could easily lead to direct action and civil war. This might suggest the substitution of voting for fighting and indicate that the counting of votes came in as an alternative to civil war. This is the suggestion already cited from Glotz, and it deserves consideration. Such might well have been the course of events. However, at least at Athens in the period before Solon, the assembly seems, if anything, to have lost ground. Hence this explanation seems a less plausible account of what actually happened, though the situation may have varied from community to community.

A third alternative is to suppose that the use of votes first developed in interstate organizations, though here we are on none too sure ground. For the Peloponnesian League we have a description of the vote in the assembly of 432 B.C. by which the League voted to go to war against Athens. The Spartans, who presided over the organization, called for the vote of every allied state represented, large or small, in succession.<sup>18</sup> The procedure seems to have been by a sort of roll call. Each state, regardless of size, had one

vote, as was the normal usage of the time in leagues of this type, that is, symmachies or permanent alliances for co-operation in wars. In such organizations, however, we cannot carry the usage farther back than to about 505 B.C., the time of the formation of the Peloponnesian League. To go back farther we have to turn to the amphictionies. Of these, the best known is the Delphic Amphictiony, usually called merely the "Amphictionic League."<sup>19</sup> Its early origin is indicated by the fact that its members were tribes and not cities. Here, too, we should expect to find an equality of vote, and we do find it; but in the earliest form known to us, except by inference and reconstruction, each tribe had two votes and not one. What was the purpose of this when the equality of the tribes was maintained? The double vote seems to have been adopted in order to make it possible to divide the vote of certain tribes and thus to assign one Ionic vote to Athens and one Doric vote to the Dorians of the Peloponnesus. Since the two-vote system was in use at the time of Solon, the earlier system must go back well into the seventh century. Thus it is likely that the vote was used in amphictionies as early as—or even earlier than—in the city-state. Whether this affected the development of government in the cities is another question. It may be safest to conclude merely that as early as the seventh century the movement was in the air and was assuming several forms.

The recurring of the seventh century as the likely time for the introduction of the counting of votes makes it necessary to say a word again about the Homeric poems. An effort has been made recently to date the composition of the *Odyssey* as late as about 640–620 B.C.<sup>20</sup> Now it has

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Larsen, "Federation for Peace in Ancient Greece," *CP*, XXXIX (1944), 145–62 at 146–48.

<sup>20</sup> Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction, and Saga in the Homeric Epics* (Berkeley, 1946), p. 100.

<sup>18</sup> Thuc. I. 125. 1.



been pointed out above that the description of assemblies in the Homeric epics indicates that the counting of votes was not employed. Thus it might seem that one of two conclusions is inevitable. Either we have the date of the adoption of the vote fixed within very narrow limits, or else the date suggested for the composition of the *Odyssey* is too late. Neither conclusion is entirely warranted or inevitable. This is not the place to argue in greater detail about the date of the composition of the Homeric poems, but it may be well to recall one statement made above. Though the poet, in either epic, essentially described contemporary rather than Mycenaean institutions, he did try to describe an old-fashioned society. Thus institutions not mentioned in the poems may well have existed at the time that the latter were composed, provided that they were sufficiently new for the poet to be aware that they were innovations.

Of the systems of voting later employed in Greek states, that of Athens is best known, but, unfortunately, reliable information about its functioning does not go back farther than to the early part of the fifth century. Here first place must be given to the method used in ostracism, which can be classed as a special form of secret voting by means of ballot or voting symbols. It will be remembered that the material used for ballots was broken bits of pottery (*ostraka*) and that each voter brought along such a piece, on which he had written the name of that fellow-citizen whom he wished to have leave Athens. If as many as six thousand votes were cast, he who received the highest vote had to leave and stay away for ten years. Hundreds of *ostraka* have been preserved, and among them are several inscribed with the name of Hipparchus, the first victim of the system, who was ostracized in 487 B.C.<sup>21</sup> Most of the early *ostraka* show that

the legend was incised into the surface of the pottery and not written or painted upon it. Even if the legend was scratched in hurriedly and carelessly, the process must have been considerably slower than writing. It may in part have been this which caused politicians to hit upon the scheme of preparing in advance *ostraka* inscribed with the name of an opponent and handing these out to voters. This is illustrated by a find of 190 *ostraka* inscribed with the name of Themistocles. Irrefutable evidence of the manipulations of the politician is the fact that there are groups of several *ostraka* inscribed by the same hands.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, if the voter prepared his own ballot, this system was admirably suited to a secret vote, but it was undeniably cumbersome and could hardly be used extensively. For other secret votes, tokens adapted to voting for or against a measure in the assembly or for choosing one of two verdicts proposed in a law court were used.

From *psephos*, the name for a voting token, are derived the most frequently used Greek words for voting, for putting a question to vote, and for a decree adopted as the result of a vote. This gives the impression that secret voting was normal. But this was not the case. On the contrary, voting by show of hands was used more extensively than the secret ballot, at least outside of law courts, where the secret vote was the rule. This is familiar to all who have studied Athenian law courts or read the description in Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution* of the elaborate precautions taken in them in order to maintain secrecy. In addition, secret vot-

<sup>21</sup> E. Vanderpool lists 973 *ostraka* discovered through 1946, in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII (1949), 408-11 and 524 additional discovered in 1947, in *Hesperia*, XVII (1948), 194.

<sup>22</sup> Oscar Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII (1938), 228-43. These *ostraka* were found in a well on the north slope of the Acropolis.

ing was employed in the assembly for certain special types of bills. Otherwise, both for elections and for acting on bills presented, the normal practice was to vote by show of hands. From the terminology used, however, it seems safe to conclude that this practice was not original but that, when voting first was used extensively and the terminology developed, secret voting was normal.<sup>23</sup> This view has been challenged on the ground that this system departs so completely from the Homeric and Spartan institutions.<sup>24</sup> But the latter systems were precisely what the new procedure sought to get away from. If the common man was to have an opportunity to override the will of the nobles, half the advantage would be taken away from him if the voting were open and not secret. Yet the theory given above seems to require a little modification. The normal word for "electing" was *χειροτονεῖν*, which implies the show of hands. Hence it is likely that this method was employed at elections from the outset. The chief reason probably was that the Athenians lacked a convenient ballot. *Ostraka*, as already implied, were not suitable for complicated elections involving several offices and probably several candidates for each office, while the other voting tokens could hardly be used at all for the purpose. The other chief use of the vote by the people, according to the reforms of Solon, was in the law courts or, rather, the assembly functioning as a court. Here the voting token and the secret vote appear to have been employed from the outset. This was probably true also for the voting of decrees in the earliest period, and so the common word for

decree became *psephisma*. Later, when the work of the assembly increased and the decrees—many of them routine—multiplied, it was found convenient to use voting by show of hands for most bills and to retain the secret vote only for special types of enactments.

The chief significance of the development of the practice of taking and counting votes sketched so far is so obvious and axiomatic that it scarcely is necessary to state it. Without voting, there can be no real constitutional government. The government of the Merovingian kings in France has been described as a "despotism tempered by assassination,"<sup>25</sup> and so it was also with the institutions described by Homer. Without the introduction of the formal vote, they could remain or develop into nothing but monarchy or narrow oligarchy or aristocracy tempered by revolution and the pressure of public opinion, in other words, the fear of revolution. The early history of Athens is an illustration. Things had come to such a pass that "the state was oligarchic in all other respects and the poor—they themselves and their children and their wives—were in servitude to the rich."<sup>26</sup> This resulted in prolonged tension (*stasis*) and this, in turn, in the election of Solon to introduce reforms. Probably he considered his social and economic reforms as the most essential; but, in all likelihood, the ground gained would soon have been lost if the people had been given no political power. Obviously, the chief instrument by which the interests of the people could be safeguarded was the vote, and this was given to it by Solon.

And yet the mere adoption of formal voting and the counting of votes are not enough to guarantee democratic development. There are ways of nullifying the ef-

<sup>23</sup> Keil, *Griechische Staatsaltertümer*, in Alfred Gercke and Eduard Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, III (2d ed., 1914), 379; Heinrich Swoboda, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Staatsaltertümer* (1913), p. 120.

<sup>24</sup> Georg Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, I (1920), 454 f.

<sup>25</sup> Pflster in *Cambridge Medieval History*, II, 135.

<sup>26</sup> Arist. *Ath. pol.* 2. 2.

fects of the right to vote and of manipulating it in the interest of certain groups or classes. In fact, much of the history both of ancient and of modern states could be written from this point of view. The right of voting may depend on a property qualification and thus the government be made an oligarchy, as in the Boeotia of 447-386 B.C. or in Athens after the establishment of oligarchies in 322 and 317 B.C. Or the vote may be counted not by heads but by voting units so organized as to favor certain classes. Or, again, when the vote is open and not secret, the voters may be subjected to influence or intimidation.

In two respects the method of taking the vote in Athens decidedly favored democratic development. The vote was counted by heads and not by voting units. In some cases the votes actually were cast by tribes. In the votes on ostracism the Agora was inclosed, and there was an entrance for each tribe. In the vote at the trial of the generals after the Battle of Arginusae, there were placed two urns in the assembly for the votes of each tribe, one for the tokens cast in favor of condemnation and one for those cast in favor of acquittal. Yet, even when the votes were taken in this manner, what counted was the majority of all the votes cast. A second feature which favored democratic development was the fact that the assembly met in the city and thus was more accessible to the radical workingmen than to the more conservative farmers. In the council, in which a certain number of members were assigned to each deme<sup>27</sup>—and inscriptions show that they were assigned approximately in proportion to the population of the deme—the interests of all sections of Attica were represented. Thus there probably was little sectionalism in the conduct of routine business—for here, if the assembly took up the questions at all, it seems

to have done little more than approve the measures proposed by the council—but on major issues the voters in the city had a decided advantage. Thus there can be little doubt that the policy of Pericles at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War of evacuating the countryside and concentrating the population in the city was approved primarily by the voters of the city and probably would have been voted down if the assembly had met out in the country and been attended chiefly by farmers.<sup>28</sup>

Since so much of the voting was open and not secret, it is only fair to ask whether there are signs of undue intimidation or pressure. This is to be found in Greece but in Athens seems to have been confined largely to the times of oligarchic revolution. In 411 B.C. the preparations even included assassination of democratic leaders, and the crucial meeting of the assembly was called at Colonus outside the city walls. Since the Spartans at the time held Decelea, this tended to discourage the attendance of any citizens belonging to the unarmed lower classes and, in case of a riot, would deprive the democratic element of any possible aid from the metics and slaves in the city. Nor does anyone doubt that it was intimidation which caused the people to vote the Thirty Tyrants into power in 404 B.C. The latter, too, used controlled voting for the condemnation of a group of democratic lead-

<sup>28</sup> Since this was one of the most momentous decisions in Greek history, Xenophon must have had it in mind when he wrote that, if, in case of invasion by an enemy, the farmers and the craftsmen were to vote separately on whether they were to defend the countryside or give it up and guard the city walls, then the farmers would vote for defending it and the craftsmen for giving it up (*Oeconomicus* 6, 6-7). Be that as it may, the place of meeting favored the city dwellers. The farmers had too far to go and were too busy with their work to attend meetings frequently. This is clearly recognized by Aristotle, who considered farmers the best type of citizens for a democracy for the very reason that they were too busy to attend the assembly frequently (*Politics* 1318 b 6 ff.).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 62. 1.

ers brought to trial before their hand-picked council. Even this council was not allowed to vote without supervision. The Thirty themselves occupied the benches normally occupied by the *prytaneis*. The vote was given by tokens, which normally means a secret vote; but this time they were not deposited in containers but were dropped on one of two tables—one for condemnation and one for acquittal—placed in front of the Thirty.<sup>29</sup> There was a similar case of controlled voting at Megara in 424 B.C. The city at the time had a democratic form of government. Some of the leaders had tried to betray the city to the Athenians, but the venture had failed. The pro-Athenian leaders fled from the city, and the rest of the citizens came to terms with their oligarchic exiles and allowed them to return. There were oaths exchanged guaranteeing a general amnesty. Nevertheless, the oligarchic leaders soon got into office and forced the people to condemn to death by "open voting token" some hundred men suspected of pro-Athenian sentiments.<sup>30</sup> The language of Thucydides implies that the trial took place before the assembly, which also at Athens at times functioned as a court for important political trials, and that the vote was taken by voting tokens in accordance with the normal practice of secret voting in law courts, but that the casting of the votes was supervised, probably by some such device as that used by the Thirty. These incidents show that the Greeks understood how to influence voting and even how to nullify the secrecy of a Greek equivalent of the secret ballot. Nevertheless, in fifth-century Athens, except for the oligarchic interludes, there is little indication of pressure, and, if there was any, it seems to have favored democracy simply because the lower classes outnumbered the wealthy and because de-

mocracy was in the air. Under the circumstances the greatest danger normally was that the people should get out of hand and a mob spirit lead to hasty and calamitous decisions. Against this, there were safeguards, which cannot be described here. Yet when feeling ran high, even these did not help, and constitutional procedure was disregarded, as in the famous trial of the generals in 406.

A special form of open voting was that used in the Amphictionic League and in the symmachies, such permanent alliances as the Peloponnesian and Delian leagues. There is most evidence for the Amphictionic League, the records of several votes being preserved in inscriptions, but the case is clear enough for the Peloponnesian and Delian leagues and is illustrated by the vote in the Peloponnesian League already mentioned. In such interstate organizations it was natural to use the open vote, for each vote cast was a declaration of the policy of the state in question. Yet there is always the danger, as we also know today, that small states may not vote independently but as satellites of a larger state. This danger was great on account of the preponderant position of Sparta over against the Peloponnesian League and of Athens in the Delian League. Only a state of considerable importance would dare to assume an independent attitude. All students of the period are aware that the opposition to Sparta in the Peloponnesian League came chiefly from Corinth. This city was large, had a group of allies who tended to follow her leadership, and was situated so strategically that she could easily secede and by so doing interfere with the communications between the Peloponnesus and central Greece. Such a city dared to have a policy of her own and dared on occasion to speak her mind. In the Delian League, Athens theoretically was in a weak posi-

<sup>29</sup> Lysias xlii. 37.

<sup>30</sup> Thuc. iv. 74.

tion with only one vote in the assembly, but actually she was more predominant than Sparta was in the Peloponnesian League in the period before the Peloponnesian War. There was no state in the Delian League which could play successfully the role played by Corinth in the sister-organization. One of the leading cities of the league is actually represented as complaining that, on account of the great number of votes, the allies were unable to get together and defend themselves against Athens.<sup>31</sup> This must mean that the few cities which occasionally might vote independently were outvoted by the many cities which followed the leadership of Athens. Undoubtedly, it would not have occurred to anyone that a sovereign state—and the members of the Delian League were supposed to be sovereign states—should wish to keep its vote secret. Nevertheless, a secret vote might have been an advantage. With it the smaller states might not have been intimidated and might actually have dared to vote contrary to the wishes of Athens. It would be claiming too much to say that secret voting in the symmachies would have saved the causes of Greek freedom and Panhellenic unity and co-operation, but it might have helped considerably.

One further development in Hellenistic Greece must be noted briefly. As mentioned above, at Athens all parts of Attica were adequately represented in the council, but in the assembly the section of the people which lived nearest to the place of meeting had a decided advantage. This situation might become even more acute when a primary assembly was used in a federal state. If the vote was taken by heads, there would be the danger that the decision should be made by the residents of the city in which the assembly met. But there was an easy cure, which is best

known from the *synkletos*, the special primary assembly of the Achaeans League, which was called to deal with important questions of foreign policy. In this the vote was taken by cities, and, in the light of the extent to which the principle of representation in proportion to population was being employed by this time, it is likely that the votes of all cities did not count the same but were weighted in some manner in proportion to the size of the city. The practice of taking votes by cities was undoubtedly used in other federal states and is specifically attested for the contemporary Boeotian League.<sup>32</sup> To us it must seem that an even more simple solution would be the adoption of representative government. This method, too, was tried extensively in Hellenistic times, but a discussion of it does not belong here.<sup>33</sup> At the same time, the Achaean League also illustrates how easily a democratic structure can be manipulated for non-democratic purposes. In the league there was no pay for magistrates or for attendance at meetings of the assemblies. The result was that only men of property normally held office and attended the meetings and that the actual spirit of the government was oligarchic rather than democratic. Probably, it was for this very reason that the Achaeans were so prone to emphasize their democracy, but this, too, is a subject which cannot be discussed here.

Because of the great differences between the Greek and Roman methods of counting and controlling votes, the picture of Greek practices needs to be supplemented by a hurried glance at Rome. In this statement emphasis is placed on control, for the reason that it is precisely

<sup>31</sup> Livy xxxiii. 2. 6.

<sup>32</sup> Larsen, "Representation and Democracy in Hellenistic Federalism," *CP*, XL (1945), 65-97.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* III. 10. 5.



here that the upper classes of Rome excelled. Probably the less said about origins, the better. Yet, in spite of uncertainties about many details, it seems safe to conclude that the later Roman government developed from institutions closely related to the Homeric institutions. This is seen most clearly in the senate, which, by name, was a body of elders. The procedure followed at its meetings suggests that it was originally a body of advisers subject to the call of the king. It continued to be a body without any regularly scheduled meetings and gathered only when summoned. The presiding magistrate placed a question before it, called for individual motions or statements of opinion, and these were given orally. When formal votes were necessary, they were taken by division of the house; the secret ballot was not introduced before the Empire. The motion voted was a *senatus consultum*, which can be defined as advice given as the result of the consulting of the senate. There were survivals also in the procedure before assemblies, and here, in many respects, the Romans were more conservative than the Greeks. The ordinary voter in Rome never gained any greater right of initiative or of addressing the assembly than the common man had in Homeric times. In other words, he had no right either to address the people or to make motions. The presiding officer presented a measure and asked the people whether it approved (*rogatio*), and the vote took the form of an answer to the question. The procedure in elections was similar. It is likely that the *lex curiata*, the oldest form of Roman enactment known to us, at first was ratified by a shout of approval and that the initial step in a change to a more formal method of voting was to ask each citizen to give his approval or disapproval individually, somewhat in the way the senators were called on in-

dividually at the meetings of the senate. The difference was that the senator was allowed to express an opinion and formulate a proposal, while the voter in the assembly merely was asked to approve or disapprove a measure placed before him. At any rate, this procedure of asking a question followed by an oral answer was retained down to 139 B.C., when the secret ballot was introduced in Rome for the first time—and even then it did not immediately completely replace the older method. Whether the adoption of the vote was due to the influence of the earlier Greek example cannot be said for certain, though some Greek influence is likely. In any case, the Romans handled the voting in assemblies in a way decidedly different from that used in the Greek city-state.

The most obvious difference was that, while in the popular assemblies of the Greek cities the vote was counted by heads, in the corresponding Roman assemblies the vote was always taken by voting units—curias, centuries, or tribes. This system was admirably suited to manipulation in such a way as to give the advantage to one class and to nullify the will of the masses. There may have been no such purpose at the outset, and the system may well have resulted from a natural growth at least in the oldest assembly, the *comitia curiata*. However, in the *comitia centuriata*, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the system was manipulated in the interest of the men of property. In the first form of the assembly described for us, there were 193 centuries, of which 80 were controlled by the members of the first property class, while 18 additional centuries were controlled by the knights, who belonged to the same class. Below were 90 centuries assigned to the members of the four lower property classes and 5 special centuries with one single century including all citizens with too little property to

be liable to military service. When the centuries voted, the knights voted first and were followed by the centuries of the first class. If these were in agreement, they had a majority, and, in that case, there was no further voting. The second class was called upon only when the knights and the first class failed to agree, and Livy remarks that this seldom happened and that the lower classes scarcely ever voted.<sup>34</sup> It is probable that this system was not created all at once—though here we are on controversial ground—and that the vote once was confined to the first class and the knights. In favor of this is the statement derived from the elder Cato that the members of the first class were called *classici* and the members of the other classes *infra classem*.<sup>35</sup> This would fit an assembly with essentially one class of voters and a military organization including cavalry and heavy-armed infantry in the style of the Greek hoplites—and such an army Rome must once have had. An assembly of this kind would represent a frank oligarchy, in which the right to vote was limited to men with a hoplite census, that is, to men able to serve the state with their own weapons. In many ways this was superior to the later system when citizens with less property were given the vote but in such a way that it counted for little. Obviously, the more wealthy were grouped in many relatively small voting units, while the less wealthy were grouped in fewer and larger units. How great the discrepancy was, we cannot say; but Cicero, whose description of the actual composition of the *comitia*, however, seems a bit confused, implies that each one of the centuries of the lower classes contained almost more citizens than the entire first class,<sup>36</sup> and, remember, these

centuries seldom had an opportunity to vote. Moreover, there was a single century including all citizens below the fifth class, and this century, Dionysius of Halicarnassus remarks, was more numerous than all the others,<sup>37</sup> that is, contained over half the male citizens. Even if we may doubt the accuracy of these statements, it is clear that the assembly was controlled by a relatively small body of propertied voters. This very device, however, was highly praised by Livy as superior to a system under which the votes of all have equal weight; for, with this system of gradation, while no one appears to be deprived of the vote, yet the authority remains in the hands of the leading men of the state. It is scarcely necessary to say that Cicero's verdict was similar.

None of the three authors just cited had seen the system described in operation. Cicero, Livy, and Dionysius all wrote about something which had existed two centuries earlier. Toward the end of the third century B.C., the *comitia centuriata* had been reorganized and transformed as the result of a reform which usually is represented as democratic, though it was so only in comparison with the system which it replaced. No adequate account has been preserved, but it is commonly believed that each of the five classes was now given two centuries in every one of the thirty-five tribal districts. This meant seventy centuries for each class or three hundred and fifty in all. In addition, there were the eighteen centuries of knights and the few special centuries which had existed under the older system. From the point of view of the first class, which actually had its number of centuries reduced, the change may have seemed democratic enough, but, from the point of view of the fifth class, things must have looked different. This class, too, undoubtedly the largest of the

<sup>34</sup> Livy i. 43. 11.

<sup>35</sup> Aulus Gellius vi. 13.

<sup>36</sup> *De republica* ii. 40.

<sup>37</sup> *Roman Antiquities* iv. 18. 2.

five, was given only seventy centuries, and below it there was the great mass of poorer citizens still crowded into a single century. Thus the change seems to have meant a broadening of the basis of the oligarchy and a shift in the balance from the more wealthy to the middle classes. This statement, of course, is made on the theory that all voters voted independently, which, however, was hardly the case. There were ways and means for the senatorial aristocrats to influence the voting in the centuries of the lower classes.

Enough has been said about the centuriate assembly to indicate that it was scarcely a suitable instrument for a democratic revolt. Therefore, it is not mere chance that the democratic movement in Rome was intimately connected with the tribal assembly. In this, too, the system of voting units was used, but the units were based on locality, and all voters, rich or poor, voted in the tribe to which they belonged. The tribes ultimately numbered thirty-five. Here it would seem that the poor could outvote the rich. The assembly was intimately connected with the tribunes of the people, whom it elected. In addition, the assembly soon began to express its opinion in response to questions brought before it by the tribunes, that is, to pass plebiscites. By the Hortensian Law of 287 B.C. these plebiscites were recognized as having the force of law. As a result, there was now a democratic assembly electing its own presiding officers and able to legislate without consulting the senate. It would seem that the democratic victory was complete. Nevertheless, a few generations later the government of Rome was clearly an oligarchy, and a tribune making use of his right to initiate legislation without the approval of the senate was regarded as revolutionary. This was the fate of Tiberius Gracchus, and the result was that he became a revolutionary.

Many explanations of this development have been given. Here it is possible to emphasize only one important factor without thereby denying the existence of many other contributing factors. The Roman method of taking the vote, both in the centuries and in the tribes, was eminently suited for the exertion of influence and pressure on the voter. It has already been mentioned that the secret ballot was not introduced before 139 B.C. and that, up to that date, all voting was oral. The voters of each unit were gathered in an inclosure and passed out one by one, giving their votes orally to the official charged with counting the votes of that particular unit. This gave an excellent opportunity for observing how any individual voted. It is well known to all students of Latin literature and Roman history that prominent Romans attached to themselves personal followers or clients. In addition, they had their freedmen. Through these followers the wealthy nobles were able to control the vote in enough centuries to insure their leadership in the state.<sup>38</sup> It is true that there were some independent voters, and it is true that there was a second group of patrons developing, namely, the wealthy businessmen later known as "knights." Yet, if the senators and knights were in agreement, they were still, even in the last days of the republic, able to control the assemblies. This seems to be the rather sordid truth which lay back of Cicero's enthusiasm for the *concordia ordinum*, the political co-operation between senators and knights.

The general truth of the interpretation suggested seems proved by the discussion in Cicero's *De legibus* of the secret ballot and the *leges tabellariae* by which it was

<sup>38</sup> F. B. Marsh, *A History of the Roman World from 133 to 30 B.C.* (London, 1935), Appen. 2; cf. now Lily Ross Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), chap. III.

introduced. In this dialogue, in which the interlocutors are Marcus Cicero, his brother Quintus, and his friend Atticus, Marcus included in his draft of an ideal constitution the provision that the votes are to be known to the best men (*optimates*) and free to the people, a mysterious clause which turns out to mean that the people are to be theoretically free to vote as they wish but that the voters are to show their ballots to prominent citizens and thus actually be under their control. This calls forth a tirade from Quintus, who insists that the secret ballot has deprived the *optimates* of all authority and who damns all *leges tabellariae* and their authors. In the discussion Marcus insists that he prefers oral voting, but it is a question of what is practicable. He wants the people to retain the ballot as a safeguard of liberty but with the provision that it is to be freely shown to any one of the best citizens. Thus the people will have the extra freedom of an honest method of currying favor with the aristocracy. "By our law the appearance of liberty is conceded, the influence of the aristocracy is preserved, and a cause of dispute is removed."<sup>39</sup>

The control of the assemblies by the nobles through patronage and pressure could be removed only by the secret ballot, and the introduction of a series of bills on the subject in the second half of the

second century B.C. is clear proof that there was a revolt against senatorial leadership at the time. Through the ballot, undoubtedly, some of the hold of the old aristocrats on the assemblies was lost, but the illness afflicting Rome was by this time much too serious and complicated to be cured by one simple remedy. Moreover, no matter how well things were ordered at home, the fate of Rome was inextricably tied up with her empire, and the time soon came when the proletarian soldier counted for more than the sovereign voter. Hence the secret ballot could now do little toward saving the state. Its absence at an earlier date—as well as the Roman system of counting by voting units—had contributed much to making the state an oligarchy and checking any incipient democratic developments. In Rome, as in Greece, the history and development of government and political institutions had been gravely affected, in the first place, by the introduction of formal voting and, in the second place, by the particular way in which the votes were taken and counted. The method used in Greece helped to produce Athenian democracy, which, though short-lived, in turn produced the strongest democratic tradition of antiquity; that used by Rome resulted in the complete nullification of all democratic movements and the control of the state and society by a narrow oligarchy.

<sup>39</sup> The clause in the draft for a constitution, *De legibus* III. 10; the discussion, *ibid.* 33-39.

# THE CARROT AS A FOOD IN THE CLASSICAL ERA<sup>1</sup>

ALFRED C. ANDREWS

THERE have been two conflicting schools of thought regarding the evolution of the cultivated carrot. Such authors as Braun (1842), Gordon (1848), Krause (1904), Bauer (1924), Thellung (1926), Rasmusson (1926), and Komarov (1931) have maintained that the cultivated carrot evolved solely by hybridization and chiefly by intercrossing of wild species. Such authors as Hoffmann (1816), Vilmorin (1886), and Rubashevskaya (1931) have held that the cultivated carrot was developed directly from the wild carrot by selection and cultivation over a long period of time. But intensive study of the numerous carrot forms has made the origin of the cultivated carrot increasingly clear, and it can now be considered an established fact that the cultivated carrot comprises several large groups of heterogeneous descent.

The classification of the cultivated and the wild carrot as representatives of one species (*Daucus carota*) by Linnaeus (1753) was first modified by Hoffmann (1791), who distinguished the cultivated carrot as a variety of the Linnaean species (*D. carota sativus*). As evidence accumulated, it became clear that the cultivated carrot merited a high taxonomic position, and it was accordingly classified by Hayek (1910) as *D. carota* subsp. *sativus* (Hoffm.). At the same time, Hayek

reclassified the wild carrot as *D. carota* subsp. *carota*.

The progenitors of the cultivated carrot are forms of the wild carrot, an extremely polymorphic species which had an extensive natural range in prehistoric times, just as is the case today. The oldest cultivated carrot group is the anthocyan carrot, which is widely distributed in central Asia. The anthocyan carrot contains two types of pigments, anthocyanins and anthochlors. Predominance of the former in the roots produces violet or black coloration, while predominance of the latter results in yellow coloration. V. Mackevic,<sup>2</sup> an exponent of N. I. Vavilov's theory of the dynamic evolution of species, as a result of his investigation of these Asiatic forms of the anthocyan carrot, came to the conclusion that the center of greatest diversity and therefore the center of dissemination of the cultivated carrot lie in the extreme eastern region of southeastern Asia, in Afghanistan, in that area where the Hindu Kush and the Himalaya meet. If this view is accepted, the cultivated carrot must have come to Europe from central Asia at a time when it was already under extensive cultivation in India and had become distinctly different from the general type which grew wild in Europe.<sup>3</sup> A. Thellung,<sup>4</sup> on the contrary, took the

<sup>1</sup> Selected bibliography: R. von Fischer-Benzon, *Altdeutsche Gartenflora* (Kiel and Leipzig, 1894), pp. 116-17; Fournier, in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, I, 1147; Steier, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, *RE*, XV (1932), 2339-43; Otto Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*<sup>2</sup>, II, 69; Johannes Hoops, *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* (Strassburg, 1905), p. 297, and *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* (Strassburg, 1911-19), III, 234-35.

<sup>2</sup> "The Carrot of Afghanistan," *Trudy prikl. bot. i pr.*, XX (1929), 517-58.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Werner Lindenbein, "Karyologische Studien an *Daucus carota* L.," *Berichte deutsch. bot. Gesellsch.*, L (1932), 405.

<sup>4</sup> "Die Abstammung der Gartenmöhre (*Daucus carota* subsp. *sativus*) und des Gartenrettichs (*Raphanus raphanistrum* subsp. *sativus*)," *Fedde, Repert. spec. nov. regni vegetab.*, Beihefte, XLVI (1927), 1-7. Cf. also Gustav Hegl, *Illustrierte Flora von Mitteleuropa* (München, 1906-30), V, 2, 1516.



stand that subsp. *sativus* probably arose as a cross between subsp. *carota* and subsp. *maximus*, since subsp. *sativus* in many of its characteristics occupies a median position between the two. If this view is accepted, the center of origin of the cultivated carrot would naturally be sought in that area where both subsp. *carota* and subsp. *maximus* occur, viz., the Mediterranean region, more especially the western end.<sup>5</sup>

Further investigation of carrot forms in the early 1930's justified differentiation of the cultivated carrot (subsp. *sativus*) into two large groups, the central Asiatic and the European; and with increasing knowledge of the varied carrot forms in the latter 1930's the picture of the evolution of the cultivated carrot became both clearer and more complex. These findings are presented and the new taxonomy established by P. Zagorodskikh.<sup>6</sup>

The Afghan anthocyan carrot spread over Asia, Africa, and part of Europe. In the arid region of Syria it was forced to make adaptations that gave rise to a new, distinctive type. This Syrian carrot then spread over Palestine, Iraq, Iran, and a large part of Africa. The Afghan carrot in its spread from central Asia to Europe via Asia Minor came into contact in Asia Minor with *D. maximus* and underwent hybridization, giving rise to new forms intermediate between these two. On the Cilician highland, by adaptation to special conditions, a distinctive new type developed.

The red, yellow, and white carrots, widely distributed in Europe, evolved in the Mediterranean region. Here are concentrated the greatest number of wild species and subspecies, sometimes so closely related that differentiation is difficult. The intrusion of the Afghan carrot into this region, in forms ranging all the way from the pure anthocyan carrot to hybrids closely approximating *D. maximus*, and subjection of varied forms to cultivation by both Greeks and Romans resulted in complicated and intensive hybridization. The oldest cultivated carrot of the Mediterranean group is the carrot with white root surface, which was developed directly from wild European forms by improvement under cultivation. By hybridization with forms of the Afghan carrot, a form developed with yellow root surface and flesh; but this lacked the anthocyan pigments of the Afghan carrot, containing only anthochlorine and partly carotene pigments, the latter furnished by the wild European carrot. This yellow carrot then entered into a cycle of crosses with wild and cultivated white carrots and perhaps also with the Afghan carrot, resulting in the development of the red carotene carrot. All these carrots have tender and succulent roots; but the red carrot has a high content of vitamin A, which is practically lacking in the white carrot.

Zagorodskikh, finding that the cultivated and the wild carrot present a composite complex that does not fit within the Linnaean species *D. carota*, reclassified the cultivated carrot as an independent species, *D. sativus* (Hoffm., Hayek), retaining *D. carota* L. as the proper classification of the wild carrot. He then reclassified the major forms of the cultivated carrot as subspecies, viz., (1) the Afghan carrot, *D. sativus* subsp. *afganicus*; (2) the Syrian carrot, *D. sativus* subsp. *syriacus*; (3) the Cilician carrot, *D. sativus*

<sup>5</sup> Adriano Fiori (*Nuova flora analitica d'Italia* [Firenze, 1923-29], II, 75) gives subsp. *maximus* as wild in northern Italy and on several of the Italian islands, including Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, in Spain and on the Balearic Islands, in Dalmatia, and in Algeria. Cf. also Lindenbein, *loc. cit.*; E. de Halácsy, *Conspectus florum Graeciae* (Leipzig, 1908), I, 626, and *Supplementum secundum* (Budapest, 1912), p. 41; Hegl, *op. cit.*, V, 2, 1518-19.

<sup>6</sup> "New Data on the Origin and Taxonomy of Cultivated Carrot," *Compt. rend. (Doklady), Acad. sci. URSS*, XXV (1939), 520-23.

subsp. *cilicius*; (4) the Mediterranean carrot, *D. sativus* subsp. *mediterraneus*; and (5) the Japanese carrot, *D. sativus* subsp. *japonicus*.

Seeds of the carrot have been found at various prehistoric stations of northern Italy and Switzerland;<sup>7</sup> but these attest nothing more than probable use of the seeds as a spice;<sup>8</sup> and the conjecture of Johannes Hoops<sup>9</sup> that even in the neolithic age the carrot was under cultivation is at best a doubtful hypothesis. In the light of current knowledge of the evolution of the cultivated carrot, the seeds found could be those of the wild carrot, of an early form of the cultivated carrot developed from the wild carrot, such as the white carrot, or even of one of the numerous native subspecies or varieties. It is reasonably certain that, if it was a type of cultivated carrot, it was a primitive form, without much value or appeal as an article of food.

The classical nomenclature of the carrot is of special interest, because it exhibits nearly all the major types of semantic change found in the terminology of food plants. There is an example of a term of generic force, originally applied to the wild carrot and many similar wild plants,

which retained this looseness of meaning during the entire classical period, since a special name was devised for the cultivated carrot, while neither the wild carrot nor any other plant to which the name was applied achieved any economic importance, and no need for specificity was felt. There are also examples of terms which apparently were applied initially only to the cultivated carrot, although they were later extended to the wild forms. And there is an example of a term of original generic force which in one region became restricted to the carrot and in another region to a different plant, in the former case because the cultivated carrot remained a plant of minor economic importance and did not acquire a special name, while the other plant probably was rarely or never grown there, and in the latter case because the cultivated carrot did acquire a special name, while the other plant became of sufficient economic importance to appropriate to itself the name once generically applied to the whole group.

It is accordingly clear that in many instances, when we are concerned with a generic term, it is difficult or even impossible to determine whether the reference is to the wild carrot or to another wild plant. But the names applied to the cultivated carrot usually present no real problem, and a generic term which in a certain region became a specific name for the carrot can be positively so identified when its use in a particular instance can be localized in that region.

It is not surprising that speculation has varied widely regarding the meaning of a generic term in the first category, since this meaning is often incapable of precise determination, or that there has been general agreement regarding a specific term for the cultivated carrot in common use. The difficulties have mostly con-

<sup>7</sup> Oswald Heer ("Die Pflanzen der Pfahlbauten," Separatabdruck aus dem *Neujahrsblatt der naturf. Gesellsch.* Zürich, 1866, p. 22) with some doubt reported *D. carota* for Robenhausen. Georg Buschan (*Vorgeschichtliche Botanik der Cultur- und Nutzpflanzen* [Breslau, 1895], p. 148) accepted the identification as correct. So did Hoops initially (*Waldbäume*, p. 297), then later became doubtful (*Reallex.*, III, 234). Matthäus Much ("Vorgeschichtliche Nähr- und Nutzpflanzen Europas," *Mitteil. anthrop. Gesellsch. Wien*, XXXVIII [1908], 216) names Mooscedorf and Steckborn and, in northern Italy, Fontinellato and Mercurago. E. Neuweller ("Pflanzenfunde aus den spätneolithischen Pfahlbaut am Utoqual in Zürich 1928-29," *Vierteljahrs. naturf. Gesellsch. Zürich*, LXXV [1930], 39) reports the finding of a dozen fruits of the carrot at Utoqual. Cf. also Elisabeth Schlemann, *Entstehung der Kulturpflanzen* (Berlin, 1932), p. 22; Schrader, *op. cit.*, II, 69.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ed. Hahn in M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VIII, 274.

<sup>9</sup> *Waldbäume*, p. 297; cf. *Reallex.*, III, 234.

cerned regional names for the cultivated carrot, and the mistakes that have been made—and they are not few—are attributable in no small degree to failure to give proper consideration to geographical factors, more particularly where the cultivated carrot and certain other cultivated umbellifers might have been profitably raised on a commercial scale and where this was unlikely, and where the wild forms grew as indigenes and where they did not. As will presently be seen, it was chiefly inadequate consideration of these factors which led Steier, Fournier, Thiselton-Dyer, Graser, and others into error.

One of the generic terms referred to above is *δαῦκος* (or *δαῦκον*).<sup>10</sup> Theophrastus<sup>11</sup> speaks of the *δαῦκον* as yellow and in some way resembling the laurel, which led Sir Arthur Hort<sup>12</sup> to conclude that the epithets applied to *δαῦκον* in this passage are unintelligible and perhaps apply to another plant whose name has dropped out, although Thiselton-Dyer<sup>13</sup> identifies the *δαῦκον* of this passage as the carrot and the black-rooted *δαῦκον* that grew in the district of Patrai in Achaea<sup>14</sup> as *Malabaila aurea* Boiss. It is tempting to identify the yellow Arcadian *δαῦκον* of Theophrastus as the second stage of development of the Mediterranean cultivated carrot, which entailed hybridization with forms of the Afghan carrot, and his black-rooted Achaean *δαῦκον* as the Afghan carrot, with anthocyanins predominant in the root. The chief difficulty is that Theophrastus seems to speak of both as essentially wild plants, used only in the field of medicine.

<sup>10</sup> The word should perhaps be associated with *δαίω*, "heat," and the application explained as motivated by the heating property of the seeds (cf. Fr. Kangliesser, *Die Etymologie der Phanerogamen-nomenclatur* [Gera, 1908], p. 59). Neither Muller nor Boissac ventures an etymology.

<sup>11</sup> *H. pl.* ix. 15. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Note on Theophr. *loc. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> In index of Hort's ed. of Theophr.

<sup>14</sup> *H. pl.* ix. 15. 8; 20. 2.

Pliny,<sup>15</sup> in speaking of the *pastinaca*, says that there was a fourth type called "Gallic" by the Romans and *daucon* by the Greeks, who distinguished four varieties. Dioscorides<sup>16</sup> distinguishes three varieties of *δαῦκον*, the first of which, called "Cretan,"<sup>17</sup> is almost certainly the candy carrot, *Athamanta cretensis* L.;<sup>18</sup> the second is apparently *A. cervaria* L.;<sup>19</sup> and the third is identified by Sprengel as *Seseli ammoides* L. (*Carum ammoides* Benth. & Hook.) and by Fraas as *Ammi majus* L., Berendes inclining to the latter identification. The quadruple classification of the *daucon* of which Pliny speaks derives from Petronius Diodotus,<sup>20</sup> who reduces the forms to two broad types, one of which is apparently the candy carrot and the other a fennel-like plant which grew in Achaea, therefore perhaps *Malabaila aurea*. The Scholiast on Nicander<sup>21</sup> defines *δαῦκος* as a small root very similar to the *σταφυλῖνος*, represented by two types, one Cretan, the other Asiatic. He quotes Plutarch as saying that there were several kinds, the common characteristic being the possession of a bitter, fiery nature, perceptible in both taste and odor, with a marked cathartic effect. According to Galen,<sup>22</sup> *δαῦκος* was a term sometimes ap-

<sup>15</sup> *NH* xix. 89; cf. also *daucium*, *ibid.* xxv. 119, 134; *daucus cruda* in xxvi. 137.

<sup>16</sup> *iii.* 72 W.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Cels. v. 23. 2: *dauci Cretici semen*. The Cretan type is also mentioned by Scrib. Larg. 177; Pelagon. 81; Marcell. *Med.* xx. 34; xxvi. 31; xxvii. 6; Cass. Felix 44 (p. 111, Rose); Oribas. *Syn.* 2 add. 847.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. note of Berendes on Diosc. *iii.* 78; note of Adams on Paul. Aeg. vii. 3 s. v. *δαῦκος*; Fischer-Benzon, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Steier, *loc. cit.*; Fournier, *loc. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> It is identified by Berendes (note on Diosc. *iii.* 78) as *Peucedanum cervaria* L.

<sup>20</sup> *Apud* Plin. *NH* xxv. 110.

<sup>21</sup> *Ther.* 94.

<sup>22</sup> *Alim. fac.* ii. 65 (p. 327.13, Helmr.). Paulus Aegineta (i. 76, p. 55.13, Helberg) also says that *δαῦκος* was sometimes used as a term for the wild *σταφυλῖνος*, and elsewhere (vii. 3, p. 206.12, Helberg) he says that the *δαῦκος* was also called *σταφυλῖνος* and speaks of a wild form. Aëtius (i. 88, p. 51.9, Olivieri) similarly says that the *δαῦκος* was also called *σταφυλῖνος*.

plied to the wild *σταφυλίνος*. Oribasius<sup>23</sup> gives *staflinus* as a synonym of *daucus* and says that the Romans called it *pastinaca*. Isidore<sup>24</sup> speaks of the *daucos* as a fennel-like plant, thus the second type of Diodotus. Hippocrates<sup>25</sup> prescribes the medicinal use of the root of the Ethiopian *δαῦκος*, which is probably identical with the Ethiopian *σέσελι* of Dioscorides<sup>26</sup> and is therefore probably *Bupleurum fruticosum* L.<sup>27</sup>

Classical Greek *δαῦκος* is the source of Modern Greek *δαυκι* and *δαυκιά*, Spanish *dauco*, and Arabic *dauku* or *dūqū*—all terms for *D. carota*.<sup>28</sup> In Greece the wild form is often called *ἄγρια δαυκιά*, and *D. guttatus* S. & S. is sometimes known as *δαυκιά*.<sup>29</sup> In Italy, on the contrary, one finds no names from this source applied to *D. carota*. *Athamanta cretensis* L. is sometimes called *dauco cretico* in Tuscany and *dauco di Candia* or *daucu creticu veru* in Sicily, and *A. sicula* L. is occasionally referred to as *daucu creticu* in Sicily.<sup>30</sup>

*Δαῦκος* thus was a term of generic force applied to several different plants, including the wild carrot, various species of *Athamanta*, *M. aurea*, and *B. fruticosum*. The common characteristic seems to have been a bitter, pungent root with a cathartic effect, used not as a food but in the

field of medicine. As a term for the carrot, it obviously must usually have denoted the wild forms, and it is not safe to assume that it refers to the cultivated carrot unless alimentary use is specifically indicated.

In contrast to *δαῦκος*, *σταφυλίνος*<sup>31</sup> seems to have been in the classical period a specific term for the cultivated carrot. It was in use at least as early as the fourth century B.C.<sup>32</sup> and in fairly common use in the third century.<sup>33</sup> The best evidence for the identification is found in Dioscorides,<sup>34</sup> who says that the *σταφυλίνος ἄγριος* has leaves like the *γυγγίδιον*, but broader and somewhat bitter, with an aromatic, aphrodisiacal root that is esculent when cooked. He says that the *σταφυλίνος κηπαῖος* is better suited as a food but weaker in its medicinal properties. The *γυγγίδιον* he mentions is probably the shining-leaved carrot, *D. gingidium* L., a subspecies of *D. carota* L. that is native in the eastern Mediterranean region, where it is found mostly near the sea. Dioscorides<sup>35</sup> describes it as a plant resembling the *σταφυλίνος ἄγριος*, especially abundant in Cilicia and Syria. His description of the *σταφυλίνος ἄγριος* may apply to the wild carrot, *D. carota* L., but probably rather to a relatively primitive form of the cultivated carrot, for the wild carrot, while it is not actually toxic, certainly has little to recommend it as a boiled vegetable. His *σταφυλίνος κηπαῖος* is probably an improved form of the cultivated carrot. In other writers, *σταφυλίνος*, when unqualified, apparently generally denotes the cultivated carrot. Thus Columella<sup>36</sup> gives *staphylinos* as the Greek term for the cul-

<sup>23</sup> *Eup.* 2 D 1; cf. also *Syn.* iv. 13: "pastinaca daucu carlota." Cf. *Ps.-Apul. Herb.* 80: "herba pastinaca a Graecis dicitur daucion."

<sup>24</sup> *Orig.* xvii. 9. 65.

<sup>25</sup> *Morb. mul.* I. 603, Foësius (II, 656, Kühn; VIII, 82, Littré).

<sup>26</sup> *Ill.* 53 W.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. J. H. Dierbach, *Die Arzneimittel des Hippocrates* (Heidelberg, 1842), p. 194; C. Fraas, *Synopsis plantarum florum classicae*<sup>3</sup> (Leipzig, 1870), p. 194; Johannes Sibthorp, *Florae Graecae prodromus* (London, 1806-13), I, 179; Daubeny in Gunther's ed. of *Diosc.*; note of Berendes on *Diosc.* iii. 53.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* ("Field Museum of Natural History, Pub. Anthropol.," Ser. XV, No. 3 [1919]), p. 453.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Theodor von Heldreich, *Τὰ δημόδη ὀνόματα τῶν φυτῶν* (Athens, 1910), p. 39.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Otto A. J. Penzig, *Flora popolare italiana* (Genova, 1924), I, 61.

<sup>31</sup> Note the variant *ἀσταφυλίνος* (Diocles *apud* Athen. ix. 371 D).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Diocles *loc. cit.* (n. 31).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. authors cited by Athen. ix. 371 B-D.

<sup>34</sup> *Ill.* 52 W.

<sup>35</sup> *Il.* 137 W.

<sup>36</sup> ix. 4. 5.

tivated form, and Galen<sup>37</sup> and Numenius<sup>38</sup> add the epithet "wild" to *σταφυλίνος* to denote the wild carrot.

Modern Greek names descended from *σταφυλίνος* mostly denote *D. carota*, viz., *σταφυλίονι*, *σταφυλόνα*, *σταφυλίνακα*, and *σταφυλινίκος*; and the only exceptions apply to other forms of the carrot, viz., *σταφυλινίκος* for *D. maximus* and *σταφυλονάκος* for *D. guttatus*.<sup>39</sup> This strengthens the impression that in the classical era *σταφυλίνος* was a term specifically for the cultivated carrot, with later limited extension to wild forms. When the history of this name is compared with that of *δαῦκος*, it seems clear that in the classical period a real difference in usage existed but that in Greece the distinction later broke down, and in time both terms came to be used for the cultivated and the wild carrot. Then *δαῦκος* achieved a degree of ascendancy over *σταφυλίνος* as a term for the cultivated carrot, as attested by its adoption in Arabic and Spanish.

Latin *pastinaca*<sup>40</sup> is a term of the same generic character as Greek *δαῦκος*, but with the difference that to some extent it was applied to the cultivated as well as to the wild carrot. Pliny<sup>41</sup> lists four types. The first was a wild (*agreste*) form, probably the wild carrot; the second was grown in Greece from the seed or root in early spring or in autumn and in Italy in February, August, September, or October and is probably the cultivated carrot; the third was the *hibiscum*, generally identified as the marsh mallow, *Althaea officinalis* L.; and the fourth was the "Gallic,"

a term which includes a variety of wild plants, discussed above in connection with the *δαῦκος*. In another passage<sup>42</sup> Pliny specifically identifies the *σταφυλίνος* of the Greeks with the type of *pastinaca* called *erratica*<sup>43</sup> by the Romans. Columella<sup>44</sup> mentions the wild (*agrestis*) *pastinaca* and says that the cultivated type was called *σταφυλίνος* by the Greeks.

In Italy today *D. carota* is called *pasticciana*, *pastinaca*, *pastinaccini*, and *pastriciano* in Tuscany; *bustunaggia* at Genoa, *bastunaghe* and *pastunnagia* at Valle d'Arroschia, and *pastinaglia* and *pastunaglia* at Bodrighera in Liguria; *bastonaje bianche* and *bastnaga* at Carpeneto in Piedmont; *bastonagia* and *pastenaga* in Lombardy; *bastunaga*, *pastinega*, and *pastonaga* in Emilia; *pastenaca* in Abruzzi; *pastenache*, *pastenaca*, and *frustenaca* in Naples; *frastinaca* in Calabria; *bastunaca* at Catania in Sicily; *fostenaja*, *fostinaja*, and *pestinaca* at Cagliari and *frustinacra* and *frustinaga* at Nuoro in Sardinia.<sup>45</sup> The wild type is called *bastonag salvadegh* in Lombardy, *vastunaca sarvaggia* in Sicily, and *pastinaca agresti*, *fustinaja areste*, and *fustinaglia areste* in Sardinia.<sup>46</sup> The application of names of this class to other plants, with one exception presently to be noted, is distinctly limited. *Athamanta cretensis* L. is called *pastinaca salvatica* in Tuscany and *pastinaca sarvaja* in Piedmont;<sup>47</sup> *D. mauretanicus* L. is called *pastenaca servaggia* in the Province of Naples;<sup>48</sup> *D. gingidium* L. is called *pastinaca selvaggia* at Ischia and *pastinaca areste* in Sardinia;<sup>49</sup> and *Caucalis leptophylla* L. is called *pastinaca selvatica* at Matera.<sup>50</sup> Borrowed into Greek, Latin *pastinaca* developed into

<sup>37</sup> *Alim. fac.* ii. 65 (p. 327.13, Helmr.).

<sup>38</sup> *Apud Athen.* ix. 371 C.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Heldreich, *loc. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> The name may have been applied to the plant because of its resemblance to the prong of a *pastinum*, i.e., a hoe or dibble (cf. T. G. Tucker, *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of Latin* [Halle, 1931], p. 181; Alois Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*<sup>2</sup> [Heidelberg, 1910], p. 564).

<sup>41</sup> *NH* xix. 88-89.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* xx. 30.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *ibid.* xxv. 112.

<sup>44</sup> *Ix.* 4. 5.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Penzig, *op. cit.*, I, 164.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 102.



such names for *D. carota* as *μπαστανάκλα* in Crete and *παστανάκλα* in Amorgos.<sup>51</sup>

In addition, the parsnip, *Peucedanum sativum* Benth. & Hook., today bears such dialectic Italian names as *pastinaca domestica* and *patriciani* in Tuscany; *bastunagge* and *pastenaega* at Genoa, *pastinaja* at Sarzana, and *pastenaiga* at Mentone in Liguria; *bastonaja* and *pastonaje* in Piedmont; *pastenaghe* and *pastenadeghe* at Brescia in Lombardy; *pastenacchia* at Venice, *pastenaga*, *pastinaga*, and *pastinaga* at Verona, *pesterinaia* at Belluno, and *pastenaga* at Istria in Venice; *pastauache* and *pastanale* in Friuli; and *pastinega* at Reggio and *bastonadagh* at Piacenza in Emilia.<sup>52</sup> Many other European names for the parsnip come from the same source, e.g., French *pastinade*, *pastenague*, and *panais*; German *Pastinake*; Flemish and Dutch *pastenaak*; Dutch, Danish, and Norwegian *pastinak*; Swedish *palsternacka*; Portuguese *pastinaga*; and English *parsnip*.

The parsnip is alien to the flora of Greece but fairly common in Italy.<sup>53</sup> Seeds of this umbellifer have been found in the dumps of Swiss and north Italian pile-dwellings of the neolithic and bronze ages,<sup>54</sup> although it is not certain that the parsnip was used as a food and even less certain that it was under cultivation.<sup>55</sup> There is no trustworthy evidence that the

parsnip was cultivated in Greece in the classical era, although there is no logical reason why it should not have been. Today it is raised in all parts of Greece where the soil and climatic conditions are suitable and is consumed by all strata of society, both urban and rural. But there are no concentrated areas of production. Parsnip production is almost entirely confined to truck farms near cities and towns, and the vegetable is generally marketed in them from stalls or sidewalk stands, while in rural areas the parsnip is usually produced by the farmer for his own use. The production of parsnips in Italy and Sicily today is sporadic. There are no large centers of production anywhere, and the parsnip is a minor crop everywhere in the country. But, since the parsnip was a fairly common wild plant of Italy, it had presumably been elevated there to the status of a cultivated plant, probably more especially in the northern section, where conditions were relatively more favorable.

The term *pastinaca*, on the evidence of the modern names, must have included the parsnip within its meaning, but it was obviously not a specific name for the parsnip. The only classical name which can be referred with assurance to the parsnip on the basis of classical sources is *ἐλαφόβοσκος*.<sup>56</sup> *Siser*, which has been referred by various scholars to the skirret, the carrot, and parsley, may rather also have been a term for the parsnip.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>51</sup> This is described by Dioscorides (iii. 69 W.)—Pliny's account (*NH* xxii. 79) is much the same as that of Dioscorides—and most authorities are agreed that the description fits the parsnip. Cf. Fischer-Benzon, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Fraas, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Hegi, *op. cit.*, V, 2, 1405, n. 3, and p. 1414; Adams, note on Paul. Aeg. 7. 3 *ἀλαφόβοσκος*. *Elafobosco* was formerly used in Italian as a term for the parsnip (Penzig, *op. cit.*, I, 337), although it also denoted *Imperatoria ostruthium* L. (*ibid.*, p. 243).

<sup>52</sup> The evidence is too complex for adequate treatment within the confines of the present article. Pertinent data may be found in the following: Fischer-Benzon, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–19; Georges Gibault, *His-*

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Heldreich, *loc. cit.*

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Penzig, *op. cit.*, I, 337.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Fiori, *op. cit.*, II, 65; Eugenio Baroni, *Guida botanica d'Italia* (Bologna, 1932), p. 196.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Heer, *loc. cit.* (n. 7 above); Buschan, *loc. cit.* (n. 7 above); Hoops, *Waldbäume*, p. 297; Much, *loc. cit.* (n. 7 above); E. H. L. Krause, "Die Nähr- und Gespinstpflanzen der vorgeschichtlichen Europäer," *Globus*, LXVIII (1895), 81; E. Neuweller, "Die prähistorischen Pflanzenreste Mitteleuropas," *Vierteljahrs. naturf. Gesellsch. Zürich*, L (1905), 101.

<sup>55</sup> The fact that Heer (*loc. cit.*) reports the seeds as uncarbonized suggests that the parsnip may have been used as a food; but Hoops (*Waldbäume*) and Ludwig Reinhardt (*Kulturgeschichte der Nutzpflanzen* [Munich, 1911], I, 288) certainly press the evidence too hard in assuming that it was under cultivation then (cf. Hegi, *op. cit.*, V, 2, 1413, n. 2).

*Pastinaca*, accordingly, was a generic term like *δαῦκος*, denoting not only the cultivated and wild forms of the carrot but also a variety of other plants. This semantic looseness of application was retained in both technical and popular nomenclature in the classical era, but gradually *pastinaca* became a specific term for the cultivated carrot in southern Italy and Sicily and was even adopted in Crete and Amorgos, the epithet "wild" almost invariably being added to the name when it denoted any similar wild plant. *Σταφυλῖνος* dropped entirely out of use in southern Italy and Sicily, and *δαῦκος* became largely limited to *Athamanta*, especially *A. cretensis*.

With regard to the parsnip, if it was a garden vegetable of any importance in classical Italy, it must have been distinguished by a specific Latin name. This rules out *ἐλαφόβοσκον*, which is a Greek name, and *siser* scarcely qualifies on the basis of either the ancient or the modern evidence. But the evidence of the modern names does indicate that *pastinaca*, which originally included both the carrot and the parsnip within its meaning, must have

become a specific name for the parsnip, as well as for the carrot, to such a degree that it gave rise to many common names for the parsnip not only in Italian but also in other European languages.

If the survivals of *pastinaca* recorded by Otto Penzig are analyzed on a geographical basis, it becomes apparent that those denoting the carrot are found mostly in southern Italy and Sicily, while those denoting the parsnip are found largely in central and northern Italy. It was in the latter area that *carota*, discussed below, became the specific name of the cultivated carrot, and it was accordingly natural that *pastinaca*, once a generic term for the carrot, the parsnip, and similar plants, should in this region become restricted to the parsnip and in this sense spread north to other European countries, whereas in southern Italy and Sicily, where *carota* did not achieve the same standing as a specific name for the cultivated carrot and where the parsnip presumably was infrequently raised, *pastinaca* survived as a term for the carrot.

From this it can be seen that Steier misses the point badly when he says that the carrot and the parsnip were often confounded and their names interchanged, for such confusion as existed must have been largely confined to Italy, where both were raised, and to *pastinaca*, which is a Latin term, and there is no interchange of names but rather an initial generic use of *pastinaca* productive of confusion, subsequently alleviated by differentiation on a geographical basis. Likewise Fournier errs in identifying Pliny's second type of *pastinaca* as the parsnip and his fourth type as the carrot; for the former was cultivated in Greece and is therefore probably not the parsnip, and the latter was the *δαῦκος* of the Greeks, a term which apparently included the wild carrot but not the cultivated carrot. Miss Graser, too, in the

toire des légumes (Paris, 1912), pp. 197-98; J. P. Rostafinski, "Kucmerka pod względem geograficznym i historii kultury" ("The Skirret: A Contribution to Plant Geography and Cultural History"), *R. Ak. Krak.*, XII (1884), 280-331; Sturtevant, *American Naturalist*, XXIV (1890), 719-20; Steier, *RE*, XV, 2342. 60 ff.; Schrader, *op. cit.*, I, 345; II, 69; Hegl, *op. cit.*, V, 2, 1414; D. Bois, *Les Plantes alimentaires* (Paris, 1928), I, 240; Berendes, note on Diosc. II, 139; Oreste Mattiolo, *I Vegetali alimentari spontanei del Piemonte (Phytolimurgia pedemontana)* (Turin, 1919), pp. 64-65. The evidence may be summarized as follows: Descriptive details of the *siser* and its cultivation tend to rule out the skirret as a possible identification, and there is general agreement that the usual *siser* is not the skirret, although the *siser* imported annually from Gelduba on the Rhine by Tiberius (cf. Plin. *NH* xix. 90) may have been. There has been a marked tendency to refer this name to the parsnip, with the carrot as a second possibility, although neither identification is wholly satisfactory. Rostafinski maintains that only three European plants satisfy the descriptive particulars: *Tragopogon porrifolius* L., *Scorzonera hispidula* L., and *Campanula rapunculus* L., and he favors the last as the most likely one.

most recent edition of the Edict of Diocletian,<sup>58</sup> falls into the same error in translating *parstinacae* as parsnips, for the absence of *carota* from the Edict alone suggests that these are carrots, and this supposition becomes practically a certainty when consideration is given to the fact that the Edict applied to market items in the East, where parsnips probably were not raised. A similar confusion is found when one turns to Latin dictionaries, in which parsnip is often given as the meaning or as one of the meanings of *pastinaca* as a botanical term, and even Italian dictionaries define current descendants now as parsnip and now as carrot. Loosely speaking, it is correct to say that *pastinaca* was then and is now a term for both the carrot and the parsnip, but it is more accurate to point out that the usage to a large extent depends on the locality.

The *carota* or *cariota* presents some difficulties. According to Pseudo-Dioscorides,<sup>59</sup> the wild *σταφυλίνος* was called *carota* or *pastinaca rustica* by the Romans, while the cultivated form was known simply as *pastinaca*. His wild *σταφυλίνος*, as has already been pointed out, is apparently not the wild carrot but a primitive form of the cultivated carrot. Apicius<sup>60</sup> in one recipe uses the phrase *caroetae seu pastinacae*. This may mean "wild carrots or cultivated carrots" or, in the light of what has just been said above, "carrots or parsnips," but probably rather "*caroetae*, also called *pastinacae*." As a matter of fact, *pastinacae* may be only a gloss on *caroetae*. Apicius did not ordinarily use inferior or even mediocre vegetables in his fine cookery, and *carota* here probably denotes a cultivated carrot of superior quality. These are the only occurrences of the

name in the classical era. In lemmas in the glossaries it is equated with *pastinaca* and *σταφυλίνος*.<sup>61</sup> The *carvita* (probably from *cariota*) of Charlemagne's *Capitulare*<sup>62</sup> is apparently the cultivated carrot.<sup>63</sup> In time the word developed into such modern names of the cultivated carrot as Italian *carota*,<sup>64</sup> French *carotte*, and English *carrot*.

Modern Greek *καρόττα* (also *καρότα*, *καρόττο*, and *καρότον*), the usual term for the cultivated carrot,<sup>65</sup> probably goes back to a late borrowing of Latin *carota*. There is no sound reason to regard *καρώ* as the source; for, although this word is met occasionally in the later Greek physicians, there is only one dubious occurrence prior to a period when borrowing from the Latin can be assumed. This is in a citation from the Greek physician, Diphilus of Siphnos, active in the third century B.C., by Athenaeus,<sup>66</sup> if the reading of Codex A is accepted. Casaubon, Musurus, and Kaibel preferred the reading *κάρτον*, "clipped," which is retained by Gulick.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. CGL, III, 317, 41: *καρωτα pastinaca*; 496, 71: *karotha pastinaca*; 430, 41: *σταφυλίνου pastinacae*; *cariotae*; II, 518, 7: *carota* + *stafilinos*. Note also Oribas. Syn. IV, 13: *pastinaca daucu cariota*.

<sup>59</sup> 72, 52.

<sup>60</sup> It is so identified by J. P. Rostafinski (*De plantis quae in "Capitulare de villis et curtis imperialibus" Caroli Magni commemorantur* [Krakau, 1885]). Cf. also Fischer-Benzon, *op. cit.*, p. 116; Schrader, *op. cit.*, I 345; II, 69.

<sup>61</sup> Note also such Italian dialectic names for *D. carota* as *carota* in Tuscany; *carotta* at Chiavari, *carotta sarveiga* at Porto Maurizio, and *carrola* at San Remo in Liguria; *carotto* at Val San Martino in Piedmont; *carotola* at Brescia in Lombardy; *garotte* at Venice in the Province of Venice; *carotta* at Reggio, *carittola* at Piacenza, and *caroeta* at Romagna in Emilia; and *carota* in Abruzzi (cf. Penzig, *op. cit.*, I, 164). *Daucus maximus* is called *caroeta* in Emilia (cf. *ibid.*). There has been a limited extension of this name to the beet, *Beta vulgaris* L., which is called *carota* at Bologna in Emilia; *carota rossa* in the Province of Rome; *carota bianca* at Naples and *carota* at Avellino in the Province of Naples; and *carota* at Catania and *carotuli* at Syracuse in Sicily (cf. *ibid.*, p. 68).

<sup>62</sup> Note also *ἀγρια καρότα* for *D. gullatus* (Heldreich, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>63</sup> ix, 371 E.

<sup>58</sup> Vol. V of Tenney Frank's *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, 1940).

<sup>59</sup> iii, 52 RV W. Cf. CGL, III, 537, 74: "*cariota* idest *pastinace agreste*."

<sup>60</sup> iii, 113.

Schweighäuser proposed to read *καρωτόν*, accepted by Fournier. Thiselton-Dyer<sup>67</sup> favored this emendation on the ground that *κάρτον* was *tonsile porrum*, the cropped leaves of the leek. He then assumed that *καρωτόν* was the source of *carota*, adopted in Latin as a loan from the Greek. His rejection of *κάρτον* was hasty and unjustified, for the technique of clipping the stalks of leeks was intended to promote growth of the root, and the same technique may have been applied to the carrot, resulting in the use of *κάρτον* as a term for such a carrot. It is noteworthy that the carrot mentioned in this passage had a large, juicy, fleshy root. The correct reading may be *καρώ*, as it appears in Codex A; but the reading *κάρτον* is certainly preferable to the emendation *καρωτόν*, which occurs neither in the classical Greek literature nor in the later Greek physicians; and Steier is entirely too hasty in accepting this as the correct reading. It is rightly called "dubious" in the *Greek-English Lexicon* of Liddell-Scott-Jones. Boisacq<sup>68</sup> regards *καρωτόν* as probably a derivative of \**κάρος*, "head," but does not explain why a vegetable valued for its root should be so named.

As for the *καρώ*, Galen speaks of this as a cultivated type more wholesome than the *σταφυλίνος*,<sup>69</sup> mentions it in connection with the turnip,<sup>70</sup> and distinguishes it from the *δαῦκος*.<sup>71</sup> Oribasius considered the root of the *καρώ* superior to that of the

*δαῦκος*,<sup>72</sup> and he repeatedly distinguishes the *σταφυλίνος*, the *δαῦκος*, and the *καρώ* as distinct types.<sup>73</sup> The *καρώ* is also mentioned by Aëtius.<sup>74</sup>

Thiselton-Dyer, having assumed *καρωτόν* to be a native Greek word, argued that it might be cognate with *καρώ*, which he identifies as the caraway, *Carum carui* L. Similarly, *καρώ* is identified in the *Greek-English Lexicon* of Liddell-Scott-Jones as the caraway.

The caraway has a fleshy root, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter, yellowish externally, whitish within. This root has a slightly caroty taste and is edible. The plant, however, is valued chiefly for its dried fruit or so-called "seeds," which are widely used today in cheeses, cookies, cakes, bread, soups, sauces, and comfits. The caraway is wholly alien to the flora of Asia Minor and Greece,<sup>75</sup> and in Italy it occurs only at relatively high altitudes in the northern part of the peninsula.<sup>76</sup> It was perhaps used as a spice or food in Switzerland in the neolithic age, but not in northern Italy.<sup>77</sup>

The plant called *κάρος* or *κάρων* by the Greeks and *careum* by the Romans was an

<sup>67</sup> *Coll. med.* III. 16. 14.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* 14. 7; 18. 12; 31. 5.

<sup>69</sup> I (p. 82.25, Olivieri): *καρώων* K.; *-ώων* codd. praeter L\* (G) (K.K. -πω A').

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Flori, *op. cit.*, II, 43; Hegl, *op. cit.*, V, 2, 1184 and 1181, n. 1; Edmond Boissier, *Flora orientalis* (Geneva, 1867-88), II, 879.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Flori, *op. cit.*, II, 43; Alps and northern Apennines, ranging no farther south than Tuscany and Emilia.

<sup>72</sup> Heer (*op. cit.*, p. 34) reports finding seeds at Robenhausen, although they were not common. These were uncarbonized and in his opinion may therefore have reached the context in which they were found by accident, although possibly they were used as a spice. Neuweiler (*loc. cit.*, n. 54 above) expresses considerable doubt regarding the finding of caraways at Robenhausen reported by Heer, which he could not confirm. Cf. also H. Christ, "Bemerkungen über die vegetabilischen Reste der Pfahlbauten von Robenhausen," *Neue Denkschr. d. allg. schweiz. Gesellsch. für d. ges. Naturw.*, XIX (1862), p. 228; Hoops, *Wald-bäume*, p. 297; Ebert, *op. cit.*, II, 394; Schlemann, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Reinhardt, *op. cit.*, I, 546.

<sup>67</sup> *Journal of Philology*, XXXIV (1918), 84.

<sup>68</sup> *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*<sup>3</sup> (Heidelberg and Paris, 1938), p. 418. This is an unacknowledged adoption of the etymology of Walther Prellwitz (*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*<sup>3</sup> [Göttingen, 1905], I, 140).

<sup>69</sup> *Alim. fac.* II. 65 (p. 327.12, Helmr.): *καρώ* B cum Oribas.; *κάρω* U; *κάρων* A; *κάρου* Ald.; *καρώων* W. Cf. Oribas. *Coll. med.* II. 23 and note of Bussemaker and Daremberg *ad loc.*

<sup>70</sup> *Mal. bon. suc.* VIII. 10 (p. 416.21, Helmr.).

<sup>71</sup> *Vict. att. ix.* 72 (p. 444.17, Kalbf.). On the form here see Kalbfleisch *ad loc.* and Oribas. *Coll. med.* II. 3 tit. and 3; III. 16. 14; III. 14. 7.

introduction from Asia Minor, assumed by the ancients to be named after the country from which it came, Caria.<sup>78</sup> Pliny<sup>79</sup> says that it grew in any kind of soil in Italy and was cultivated in the same way as Alexanders (*Smyrniolum olusatrum* L.), although the most esteemed kind continued to come from Caria and the next best from Phrygia. Dioscorides<sup>80</sup> speaks of it as a small seed too well known to require description, pleasant on the stomach, agreeable in taste, helpful to the digestion, and useful in the field of medicine. The plant also provided a root, he says, that was edible if cooked. Galen<sup>81</sup> refers to the seeds in connection with those of anise, celery, cumin, and other spices. Paulus Aegineta<sup>82</sup> speaks of them as desiccant, heating, carminative, and diuretic. Pliny<sup>83</sup> says that the seeds were used chiefly as a spice in cookery, and Columella<sup>84</sup> lists them among the dry seasonings. Apicius includes them as one ingredient of a complex compound seasoning,<sup>85</sup> apparently used to spice sow's matrix,<sup>86</sup> and as one of several seasonings for gourds cooked with chicken.<sup>87</sup>

This plant has been identified as the caraway by Sprengel,<sup>88</sup> Fraas,<sup>89</sup> H. O. Lenz,<sup>90</sup> Fischer-Benzon,<sup>91</sup> Adams,<sup>92</sup> and

Berendes.<sup>93</sup> Ludwig Keimer<sup>94</sup> believes that the caraway was unknown to the ancients. Hegi<sup>95</sup> argues that, since the caraway does not occur in Asia Minor or Greece and is limited in Italy to the mountains in the north, while Dioscorides speaks of the *kápos* as well known, the ancients probably meant one or more plants different from the caraway but endowed with the same properties. He regards the name as a derivative of Caria in Asia Minor, or of *kápa* or *káp*, "head." Kanngiesser<sup>96</sup> similarly says that the word comes from Caria in Asia Minor; from *kápos*, "stupefaction, torpor," because of the strong odor; from *kápa*, "head," because of the umbelliferous inflorescence; or from Arabic *karwaia*. Boisacq<sup>97</sup> says that the etymology is unknown.

Latin *careum* became *carvi* in Late Latin. The former survives in Lombard *carè* at Valtellina,<sup>98</sup> the latter is the source of French *carvi*, Provençal *charvei*, and Spanish and Portuguese *carvi*,<sup>99</sup> as well as Tuscan *carvi*, Venetian *carvese* and *jarvese* at Vicenza, and Emilian *garvesa* at Bologna.<sup>100</sup> Sicilian *cariota* as a term for the caraway is probably not a derivative of *careum*<sup>101</sup> but rather an extension from the carrot. Tuscan *caro*<sup>102</sup> may represent a survival of *kápos*. The current Italian names reflect some extension to the caraway of the term for cumin, although this may be of fairly recent origin. Examples are Tuscan *comino tedesco*, *comino de' prati*, and *cuminò di montagna*, Lombard *comin* at Como,

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Diosc. iii. 57 W.; Plin. NH xix. 164.

<sup>79</sup> NH xix. 164.

<sup>80</sup> iii. 57 W.: *καρώ* RPE; *kápos* FHDl; *careum* Dl.

<sup>81</sup> *Alim. fac.* iii. 1 (p. 337.1, Helmr.) and *Vict. att.* iii. 20 (p. 436.19, Kalbf.).

<sup>82</sup> vii. 3 (p. 221.9, Helberg): *κάρον στίγμα*.

<sup>83</sup> NH xix. 164.

<sup>84</sup> xii. 51. 2; cf. *Paul. Dig.*: "piper . . . et careum . . . in penu non esse improbatum."

<sup>85</sup> i. 31.

<sup>86</sup> vii. 258.

<sup>87</sup> iii. 74.

<sup>88</sup> Note on Diosc. iii. 59.

<sup>89</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>90</sup> *Botanik der alten Griechen und Römer* (Gotha, 1859), p. 559.

<sup>91</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>92</sup> Note on *Paul. Aeg. loc. cit.* (n. 82, above).

<sup>93</sup> Note on Diosc. iii. 59.

<sup>94</sup> *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten* (Hamburg and Berlin, 1924), p. 41.

<sup>95</sup> *Op. cit.*, V, 2, 1181, n. 1.

<sup>96</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 414.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Penzig, *op. cit.*, II, 43.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*<sup>3</sup> (Heidelberg, 1935), p. 133.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Penzig, *op. cit.*, II, 43.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Penzig, *op. cit.*, II, 43.



Venetian *cumo* at Vicenza, Friulian *cumin*, and Calabrian *ciminu*.<sup>103</sup> Similarly, the usual German name, *Kümmel*, is an extension from *cumin*.<sup>104</sup> Italian *anice dei Vosgi*<sup>105</sup> represents an extension from anise. Arabic *alcarawiya*, "caraway," is the source of Catalan *alcaravia*, Spanish *alcaravea*, and Portuguese *alcaravia*.<sup>106</sup> Possibly Piedmont *carovin* and *carouvi* and Venetian *carobin* at Verona<sup>107</sup> belong in the same group. German *Garbe* or *Garve* is also allegedly of Arabic origin.<sup>108</sup>

To summarize the evidence, the *kápos* or *careum* was a cultivated plant introduced into Italy primarily from Caria and secondarily from Phrygia in Asia Minor. It was raised without difficulty in Italy, but not so successfully as in the region of its provenience. The seeds were much used as a dry spice, and the root could be used as a cooked vegetable. It is true that the caraway is not native in Asia Minor, but it could easily have been introduced into Caria from Russia, where it is extensively raised today,<sup>109</sup> brought under cultivation, and developed into an export item of some importance, identified by the Greeks and Romans with the region from which it was exported. It is also true that the caraway is not extensively raised in Italy today, but it can be cultivated there, more especially in the northern section. The employment of the so-called "seeds" (actually the dried fruit) as a dry spice and of the root as a minor vegetable is entirely consistent with the caraway.

The Romance nomenclature exhibits several interesting features. Latin *careum*

by way of Late Latin *carvi* is the source of most of the current Romance names, and the survivals of this word in Italy are confined largely to the northern section, precisely where the caraway would probably have been raised in ancient times. There is a marked tendency to refer to the caraway as a type of *cumin*, since the primary products are somewhat similar in their properties and are similarly employed; but there is little extension from the carrot, because the root of the caraway has been of distinctly minor importance as a vegetable. The adoption of the Arabic name in Spain and Portugal and possibly in northern Italy does not necessarily attest introduction of the caraway by the Arabs, for there are other examples of plants that are known by names of both classical and Arabic origin. In short, there is no sound reason for rejecting the identification of *kápos* and *careum* as the caraway.

The resemblance of these names to *carota* and *καρῶ* is close enough to suggest a direct linguistic relationship, more especially since the carrot and the caraway were superficially similar enough prior to improvement by cultivation to have been known by the same name. But the caraway apparently was introduced into Italy fairly late as a well-developed cultivated plant, and there is no valid reason to doubt the belief of the ancients that its name derived from Caria. This resemblance is therefore probably only coincidental.

*Carota*, accordingly, was a term applied only to the carrot, first met fairly late in the ancient literature. The evidence suggests that it may initially have been a term for the wild carrot, but this is hard to believe, since not only *δαῖκος* and *pastinaca* but most other Greek and Latin terms for the wild form of any particular plant at first were used with generic force, denot-

<sup>103</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, I, 100.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Adam Maurizio, "Brotgewürze," *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift*, XXX, N.F., XIV (1915), 226.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Flori, *op. cit.*, II, 43.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Penzig, *op. cit.*, II, 43.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Maurizio, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Maurice G. Kains, *Culinary Herbs* (New York and London, 1912), p. 75.

ing a number of superficially similar wild plants, and there is nothing to indicate that this is true in the case of *carota*. There is no linguistic evidence that it was borrowed from the Greek, despite its relatively late appearance, even though Thiselton-Dyer assumes this to be so and other factors suggest that it probably was not borrowed. The most plausible hypothesis is that the word gained sufficient currency in northern Italy as a term for a superior type of cultivated carrot to be known to Apicius but not enough to secure separate listing in the Edict of Diocletian, probably because these carrots were not exported to the East in any quantity. In Italy today the carrot is grown wherever soil and climatic conditions are favorable. Production is heavy in truck crop areas near most of the large cities and bulks larger in northern Italy in the Po Valley region primarily because there are more large industrial cities in that section of Italy and consequently more truck farms near them. But there are no large commercial production areas in Italy comparable to those found in the United States, and carrots are generally sold in markets fairly close to where they are grown. The same condition almost indubitably prevailed in the classical era. In addition, the temperate climate and favorable soil of northern Italy probably stimulated carrot production, leading to the development of distinctive and superior forms and to the adoption of special names for these forms. It is primarily in this area that *carota* survives in the popular Italian nomenclature, the survivals of *pastinaca* achieving greater acceptance in southern Italy and Sicily. But in time it was *carota* that gained currency as the usual term for the cultivated carrot not only in the Romance languages but also in Modern Greek.

*Καρώ*, which appears with certainty only

in Galen and later Greek physicians and apparently does not survive in the modern nomenclature, was also a term for a superior type of cultivated carrot. But the name *σταφυλίνος* was probably adequate to Greek needs in the classical era, for the carrot was probably raised there only sporadically and with indifferent success. In Greece today the carrot is raised to some extent in almost all parts of the peninsula, but in rural areas the consumption is small. In the vicinity of Athens, Salonika, and other large cities there is fairly heavy production on truck farms, with extensive sales in the urban markets; but this is a rather recent development. In ancient times it was probably chiefly in northern Italy that superior carrots were cultivated, and *carota* is probably the term by which they were known. It is therefore logical to associate *καρώ* with *carota* rather than the reverse, and to regard it as a Greek equivalent adopted by technical writers which did not achieve acceptance in popular speech. Diphilus' description of the *κάρτον* (or *καρώ*) applies to a superior type of cultivated carrot, also probably identical with the *carota*.

The following names, accordingly, were applied to the carrot in the classical period: Greek *σταφυλίνος*, *δαῦκος* (or *δαῦκον*), *καρώ*, and possibly *κάρτον*, and Latin *pastinaca* and *carota* (also *cariota* and *caroeta*). *Σταφυλίνος* was the common Greek term for the cultivated carrot. *Δαῦκος* was a term applied to several more or less similar plants, including the wild carrot. *Καρώ* was a term for a superior type of cultivated carrot, as was perhaps *κάρτον*. *Pastinaca* was a term for several somewhat similar plants, including the wild carrot and the cultivated carrot, but became the usual term for a cultivated carrot in southern Italy and Sicily. *Carota* was a northern Italian term for a superior type of cultivated carrot which in time be-

came the usual name of the cultivated carrot.

In the evidence from ancient sources which has been presented, there is one omission so striking that it may have special significance. The violet or black coloration of the roots of the Afghan anthocyan carrot and the white, yellow, or red coloration of those of the Mediterranean carrot are features which one would expect to be mentioned by certain of the technical writers of ancient times if these differences existed in the cultivated carrots known to them. But the yellow- and black-rooted forms of the *δαῖκον* briefly mentioned by Theophrastus are apparently wild plants, and he does not use *σταφυλίνος*, the usual term for a cultivated carrot. There is, moreover, no mention of coloration in such authors as Dioscorides, Pliny, Galen, and Oribasius. In fact, the earliest specific allusion to differences of this character is found in Simeon Seth,<sup>110</sup> a writer of the eleventh century A.D., who speaks of a red (*ερυθρός*) and a yellow (*ῥαῖος*) type of the *δαῖκος*. This circumstance suggests that the carrot of the classical era was the form with white root surface, developed directly from available wild forms and as yet unaffected by hybridization with the Afghan anthocyan carrot. In that event, although marked differences in character and quality may have existed, the coloration would have been much the same and therefore would have given no reason for comment.

It is difficult to form a sound opinion of the alimentary quality of the carrots raised in ancient times because of the paucity of the evidence. Diphilus of Siphnos<sup>111</sup> says that, in general, *σταφυλῖνοι* are acrid and very nourishing but are only moderately good for the stomach and are difficult to digest, laxative, flatulent in

effect, very diuretic, and aphrodisiac. But the so-called *κάρπον* (?), he says,<sup>112</sup> is a large, juicy, well-developed type that is more wholesome and easy to digest. Galen<sup>113</sup> says that the root of the *σταφυλίνος* was eaten but was less nourishing than that of the turnip and the *ἄρον* of Cyrene (the cuckoo-pint, *Arum maculatum* L.). He regarded the *καρώ* as a more wholesome type. He refers to the *δαῖκος* as a plant of more use in the field of medicine than as an article of food and states that it should be thoroughly boiled, if one wishes to eat it. As for the later Greek physicians, Oribasius considered the *σταφυλίνος*, the *δαῖκος*, and the *καρώ* all low in nutritive value,<sup>114</sup> difficult to digest,<sup>115</sup> and distinctly heating.<sup>116</sup> He condemns the root of the *δαῖκος* as being of bad juice and acrid and speaks of that of the *καρώ* as superior.<sup>117</sup> Simeon Seth<sup>118</sup> says that *δαῖκοι* are heating and sudorific, less nourishing than turnips, diuretic, aphrodisiac, flatulent, and difficult to digest, especially when eaten raw. He considered the red type better than the yellow. As for Latin sources, Celsus<sup>119</sup> speaks of the cultivated *pastinaca* as wholesome and not flatulent, and Isidore<sup>120</sup> alludes to the root as an excellent aliment. On the whole, it appears that Greek medical opinion of the alimentary quality of the carrot was adverse, except for the *καρώ* and the *κάρπον*. This is not surprising, since the carrots raised in Greece were probably of inferior quality, and presumably production was limited.

There is therefore nothing abnormal in the fact that, except for the comments of physicians, carrots are almost unmen-

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, ix. 371 E.

<sup>111</sup> *Alim. fac.* ii. 65 (p. 327, Helmr.).

<sup>112</sup> *Coll. med.* iii. 14. 7.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.* 18. 12.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.* 16. 14.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.* 31. 5.

<sup>118</sup> P. 35, Langk.

<sup>119</sup> *Il.* 24, 26 (pp. 69.6 and 70.2, Daremb.).

<sup>120</sup> *Orig.* xvii. 10. 6.

<sup>110</sup> P. 35, Langk.

<sup>111</sup> *Apud Athen.* ix. 371 B.

tioned in Greek literature. It is particularly significant that the long section which Athenaeus devotes to the carrot<sup>121</sup> contains almost nothing but technical data. This negative evidence, combined with the critical attitude of the medical writers, indicates very limited alimentary use of the carrot in Greece. For Italy, too, there is little direct evidence that carrots were much used as a food. Apicius<sup>122</sup> gives three recipes for preparing *caroetae*. In one, carrots are fried and served dressed with wine-flavored fish-sauce; in another they are cooked and seasoned with salt and dressed with pure olive oil; and in a third they are boiled, minced, seasoned

with cumin, and fried in olive oil. The late writer Anthimus<sup>123</sup> says that *pastinacae* are good when well boiled, and when they are fried they should first be parboiled.

Carrots were of sufficient importance in the East to secure listing in the Edict of Diocletian,<sup>124</sup> where 6 denarii is given as the maximum price for a bunch of 25 *pastinacae* of the largest size or for a bunch of 50 of the second grade. They were slightly more expensive than green onions (4 denarii for 25 of the first grade or 50 of the second grade), but cheaper than beets (4 denarii for 5 large ones or 10 small ones).

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<sup>121</sup> ix. 371.

<sup>122</sup> iii. 113-15.

<sup>123</sup> *Obs. cib.* 53.

<sup>124</sup> vi. 44, 45.

## NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

### NOTE ON PLATO *REPUBLIC* ix. 587D

In *Republic* ix. 587D Socrates begins his "marvelous and baffling calculation" of the unhappiness of the tyrant by stating that the "distance in linear measure" between the aristocrat and the tyrant is nine. This is surprising, since in his list of lives there are only five, the aristocrat being the first and the tyrant the fifth. He explains this by saying that the oligarch is third from the aristocrat and the tyrant third from the oligarch. This has variously been regarded by Plato's readers as pleasantries, nonsense, or arithmetical sophistry, but no one has contended that in its context it is not a *non sequitur*.<sup>1</sup> Adam,<sup>2</sup> in his notes suggests that we may assume some intermediate characters which were not previously mentioned to account for this "shift to a larger modulus"; but he does not suggest how or why this might be done, since he believes that in any case the "purpose of the computation is to arrive at the number 729,"<sup>3</sup> chosen for astronomical reasons. There the matter stands.

I should like to suggest that the computation in question, while compressed, is perfectly sequential; that Adam's conjectured "intermediate constitutions and characters" are actually clearly implied in Plato's dialectical context; and that from a similar context (that of the list of types of men in *Phaedrus* 248) one can say why there is a total of nine such characters and what the "intermediates" are.

The simplest mathematical image illustrating the combinations of two independent factors is a square subdivided into cells. In the

<sup>1</sup> Since the list is usually visualized as written out in a line:

- |                |              |
|----------------|--------------|
| (1) aristocrat | (4) democrat |
| (2) timocrat   | (5) tyrant   |
| (3) oligarch   |              |

which obviously makes the interval not 1:9 but 1:5.

<sup>2</sup> J. Adam (ed.), *The Republic of Plato*, II, 360-61.

<sup>3</sup> Since 729 equals 365½ times 2, it equals the "number of days and nights in a year" (cf. Adam, *loc. cit.*).

classification of divine and human artifacts and creations at the end of the *Sophist*, Plato uses such a matrix for this purpose,<sup>4</sup> and it is a convention which has precedent in both mathematical and medical writers before Plato's time.<sup>5</sup>

In the *Republic*, if we infer that the distinction between aristocrat, timocrat, and oligarch lies in the dominance of the parts of soul,<sup>6</sup> while the distinction between oligarch, democrat, and tyrant can be stated only in terms of the reality of the objects of their desires,<sup>7</sup> it is clear that the list of five types of state about which discussion centers in Books viii and ix involves the successive introduction of two principles of degradation. The five constitutions and characters discussed, in other words, represent a gnomon-section of that matrix which would illustrate the complete combinations of these factors in their independent operation.<sup>8</sup> The total matrix would have to provide, for example, for the distinction between two characters, both of whom

<sup>4</sup> *Sophist* 266. The diagram is shown in the following tabulation:

	DIVINE	HUMAN
CREATIONS.....	Natural objects	Artifacts
IMITATIONS.....	Shadows, reflections, etc.	Mimetic artifacts

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the theory of sex determination by seed combinations, discussed in its relation to the speech of Aristophanes in the *Symposium*, in R. G. Bury, *The Symposium of Plato* (2d ed.; Cambridge, 1932), pp. xxxii ff., and summarized in R. S. Brumbaugh, "Early Greek Theories of Sex Determination," *Journal of Heredity*, XL (1949), 49-50.

<sup>6</sup> *Republic* 581C. 3: Διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων λέγομεν τὰ πρῶτα τριτὰ γένη εἶναι, φιλόσοφον, φιλότιμον, φιλοκερδῆ.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 586E-587C.

<sup>8</sup> If a total matrix is:

	a	b	c
A	Aa	Ab	Ac
B	Ba	Bb	Bc
C	Ca	Cb	Cc

a "gnomon-section" would be AaBaCaCbCc.



are guided by the rational part of the soul, but in one of whom the natural strength of this part permits contact with realities, while in the other its weakness limits such contact to artifacts. The path of degradation selected for schematic treatment shows each step as the same as, or worse than, the preceding constitution in respect to *both* factors, moving from best to worst in a continuous movement. The absence of the differentiation of rulers, auxiliaries, and artisans<sup>9</sup> in this scheme, although this is a distinction of nature and character basic to the aristocratic state, is a sign of the incompleteness of the five-step scheme as a schematic summary of the relevant contextual argument.

In the *Phaedrus* nine classes of men are hierarchically arranged in terms of their degradation from the best through the "double load of ignorance and vice."<sup>10</sup> The nature of each kind of man is indicated by a description of the typical vocation or preoccupation of a man of that type. When there is not a unique or exact correspondence between vocation and character, more than one characterizing term must be used; and, in fact, there is only one case in which a single vocation is the only one typical of a given type of man, hence where a single term will suffice: that of the tyrant.<sup>11</sup> When this list is compared with the list of kinds of character in Books viii-ix of the *Republic* or with the kinds of citizens in Books iii-vii, certain correspondences are very striking (as shown in the accompanying tabulation in the next column).

The *Phaedrus* list is arranged, within each triad, in a descending order of the *virtue* of each man, defined by the dominance of the rational, spirited, or appetitive part of the soul. Hence the correspondence between the first three kinds of souls and the first three types of constitution is exact and complete. The successive lists of threes in the *Phaedrus* are arranged in a descending order of *memory*,

since the soul sinks through forgetfulness as well as vice. Men who recognize things of the mind as objects of love differ from those who ascend no higher than love of the body and those who can see beauty only in artifacts, through the vividness of their recollection of the forms.

This accounts for the identity of the three classes in the ideal state with the first, fourth, and seventh kinds of men in the *Phaedrus* list, for these classes differ in natural intelligence

<i>Phaedrus</i>	<i>Republic</i> viii-ix	<i>Republic</i> iii-vii
1. Philosopher	1. Aristocrat	1. Ruler
2. General	2. Timocrat	
3. Statesman-merchant	3. Oligarch	
4. Gymnast		2. Auxiliary
5. Prophet	4. Democrat	
6. Poet		3. Artisan
7. Artisan		
8. Sophist		
9. Tyrant	5. Tyrant	

but are alike "virtuous" and have the same relative dominance of parts of the soul.<sup>12</sup>

If the joint variation of these two factors, ignorance and vice, is represented by a square, the resultant image is shown in the accompanying tabulation on page 199.

Accepting the equivalence of the democratic character and the poet's occupation, which Socrates hints at in *Republic* ix,<sup>13</sup> the degradations of the best constitution presented in the five-part scheme of *Republic* viii-ix are seen to follow the gnomon formed by the left side and bottom of this matrix. The reason for this selection is, as has been said, that the other "intermediates" would not

<sup>9</sup> *Republic* 432A. 8-432B. 2.

<sup>9</sup> The auxiliary differs from a timocrat and the artisan from an oligarch because both artisan and auxiliary are temperate, i.e., motivated by reason, not by ambition or avarice.

<sup>10</sup> *Phaedrus* 248.

<sup>11</sup> Thus there are four different characterizations given of the best kind of man, three each of the second and third, and two each of the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth kinds.

<sup>12</sup> 557C. To lend credence to the parallel between *Republic* ix and *Phaedrus* 248 here suggested, it may be noted that in *Republic* x the souls changing into animals (Orpheus, Thamyras, Ajax, Agamemnon, Atalanta, Epelus, and Thersites) represent, as Proclus and Adam have noted, the musician-ruler-athlete-artisan-mimetic artist of the *Phaedrus* list, and, except for Epelus and Thersites, they appear in the same order.

represent the progression from best to worst in direct, unqualified form; since the ideal artisan, for example, while inferior to the general or timocrat in intelligence, is his superior in temperance. The differentiation of philosopher, athlete, and artisan has already been developed in Books iii and iv of the *Republic*; the separation of Sophist and statesman is left to a later trilogy of dialogues for its development.

From the analogy of the *Republic* and *Phaedrus* images, certain further conclusions follow. The first is that the distance from aristocrat to tyrant equals 9 because, as

In future discussion I hope to show that the "types of character" represented by the line of length 9 is one of the three dimensions determining the final cubic image, from which Socrates calculates the full unhappiness of tyrants, and that the extreme compression of the change from a line of 5 to one of 9 in this image has antecedent probability because of the previous employment of this same 9-celled matrix as one of the two harmonies in the nuptial number.<sup>14</sup>

For the present the conclusions advocated are as follows: There are striking coincidences between the kinds of men in the *Phaedrus* and

	Rational	1. Philosopher	4. Gymnast	7. Artisan
VICE	Spirited	2. General	5. Prophet	8. Sophist
(dominant	Appetitive	3. Merchant	6. Poet	9. Tyrant
part of soul)				
	SOUL	BODY	ARTIFACTS	
	IGNORANCE (reality of objects of desires)			

Socrates says, the distance being represented linearly is "the number of a plane figure."<sup>14</sup> The "plane figure" in question is the matrix showing the types of human character as combinations of intelligence and motivation determine them. As Adam suggests,<sup>15</sup> therefore, the peculiarity of computation results from the recognition of intermediate types of character, necessitated by the dialectical schema presented. This final image, summarizing the judgment of the relative happiness of the good man and the tyrant, extends in scope beyond Books viii-ix to embrace the entire antecedent discussion of the *Republic*. The "intermediates" suggested by the *Phaedrus* diagram include the soldiers and artisans central in Books ii-iv, while the discussion in Book i is carried on with Cephalus (a merchant), his son Polemarchus (a lover of the poets), and the Sophist Thrasymachus, speaking in praise of the tyrant.

kinds of character in the *Republic* which suggest that these two lists are constructed on the same principle. Socrates wishes to include in his summing-up image the entire range of character types provided for by the variations of motivation and ability developed earlier in the *Republic*. The complete picture of this variation is a diagram or list of 9, the two axes or three subsets of which are determined by different three-part principles. In his two lists (aristocrat, timocrat, oligarch; oligarch, democrat, tyrant) Socrates has presented the two principles determining the axes of the matrix of character to indicate the reason for his linear representation of the basic types of character as 9 rather than 5. Finally, the computation of Socrates, while admittedly compressed, is in no way a *non sequitur*.

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 587C: 'Ἐνικέδον δρ', ζήτην, ὡς εἴκεν τὸ εἶδω-  
λον. . .

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 360-61.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. R. S. Brumbaugh, *Role of Mathematics in Plato's Dialectic* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Chicago, 1942), Appendix, pp. 78-80.

## CALLISTHENES IN THE ZENON PAPYRI

A fragment from the collection of Zenon papyri at Columbia University is restored as follows by its editors:<sup>1</sup>

α κατηνεχθη  
Ε[φαρμοσται βιβλια.  
συναγωγή των προ-  
ξενίων] Καλλισθενους  
και των π[ρεσβειων  
4 or 5 1.]πρ[ο]σ . . α

Previous studies of the Zenon papyri had made it seem likely that Zenon and his associates were educated men with some taste for literature,<sup>2</sup> and the editors emphasize the special importance of this fragment because it offers new evidence of literary and intellectual interests. They think that the books which Zenon sent to his younger brother, Epharmostos, may have come from his personal library; and they are inclined to adopt a suggestion made to them by Professor Rostovtzeff that they are "useful" books which Epharmostos is expected to study as part of his training for public service. Unfortunately the poor condition of this fragment ("which is incomplete at the bottom and worm-eaten upon the left side of lines 4-6") conceals from us exactly what these books were, and only a conjectural restoration can supply the answer.

The editors believe that the surviving portion of the papyrus contains the titles of "two unknown works of the *συναγωγή* type, of those collections of materials which were so characteristic of the activities of the Peripatetics"; and they identify them as (1) a work by Callisthenes, the historian of Alexander and pupil and relative of Aristotle, called *συναγωγή τῶν προ* . . . , and (2) a *συναγωγή τῶν πρεσβειῶν* by an author whose name appeared in line 6, though the fragmentary condition of this line seems to defy the restoration of any name. The

collection of "Embassies" attributed to Deme- trius of Phalerum<sup>3</sup> offers a parallel for such a work as No. 2 in the late fourth century B.C.; and for the character of such a work one may refer to the excerpts *περὶ πρεσβειῶν* collected by the Byzantine emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which contain extracts from historians describing various historical embassies together with the speeches attributed to the spokesmen on those occasions. It is entirely likely that a work of this kind, combining political and rhetorical interest, whether by a distinguished author or not, would be popular in Hellenistic Egypt. As for No. 1, it is not difficult to find words beginning with *προ*- which, in genitive plural form, will fit into the blank space at the beginning of line 4. The editors decide in favor of *συναγωγή τῶν προξενίων*, which they render "A Collection of Proxeny Treaties"—i.e., a collection of documents recording such treaties between various Greek states. A collection of this kind would be in keeping with the work of the early Peripatetics and with the work done by Aristotle and Callisthenes himself in drawing up the list of Pythian victors, for which they were honored by the Delphians.<sup>4</sup>

The editors assume that the *συναγωγή τῶν προ*- is more likely to be an encyclopedic or documentary compilation (like the Aristotelian *συναγωγὰ πολιτικῶν*) than a literary collection (like the *ιστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή* of Antigonos of Carystus and the *μεταμορφώσεων συναγωγή* of Antoninus Liberalis).<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, a "Collection of Embassies," if it records speeches, has literary and rhetorical interest as well as documentary value. Since Callisthenes is historian and rhetorician as well as Peripatetic scholar and, indeed, is credited with a book of apophthegms<sup>6</sup>—a sort of literary reference book—we are equally justified in

<sup>1</sup> W. L. Westermann, C. W. Keyes, and H. Liebesny, *Zenon Papyri*, Vol. II (New York, 1940), No. 60, with photograph.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection* (Ann Arbor, 1931), p. 49; and Claire Préaux, *Les Grecs en Égypte d'après les archives de Zénon* (Brussels, 1947), p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert. v. 80.

<sup>4</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup>, 275; cf. F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griech. Historiker*, IIB, 124 T. 23.

<sup>5</sup> For other references see L. Pearson, *The Local Historians of Attica* (Philadelphia, 1942), p. 140.

<sup>6</sup> Frags. 4 and 5 (*Frag. gr. Hist.*, IIB, 124).

looking for a literary compilation here. In fact, an alternative restoration considered by the editors, at the suggestion of Dr. Herbert Bloch, is *συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἡροδότου*, as the *π* in *πρ*- is doubtful and might be read as an *η*. Unfortunately, this title will hardly do, because a *Synagoge* is not the same as an *Epitome*. Theopompus wrote an *Epitome* of Herodotus, which Photius cites under the title of *Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν Ἡροδότου*.<sup>7</sup> But, while a collection of the speeches, of the anecdotes, or of the opinions of Herodotus is perfectly possible, a "Collection of the Work of Herodotus" is quite unconvincing as a title; one cannot make a "collection" from any author's work unless one specifies what elements are being collected.

In a list of books the author's name can come either before or after the title of a work. Hence it might be argued that *συναγωγὴ τῶν πρ*- has no author assigned to it and that Callisthenes is the author of the work which follows. But any attempt to restore the text on this basis is open to the same objection as the restoration proposed by the editors: it takes no account of the definite article *τῶν*. How can one have a "Collection of the proxy Treaty" without a phrase which explains the definite article? One can have "an anthology of short stories" or "a collection of trade treaties" but not of "the short stories" or "the trade treaties" unless they are "the short stories of Henry James," "the short stories published in 1948," or "the trade treaties regulating commerce between the United States and Brazil." There is no room in the text before Callisthenes' name for any such specification showing what proxy treaties are meant—for example, between what states or in what period. And any such specification must come before Callisthenes' name and not after it.

The same argument applies to the *συναγωγὴ τῶν πρεσβειῶν*, if the restoration *καὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν* is accepted. But here it is possible to supply the necessary specification in the lines which follow, and one can restore the text (*exempli gratia*) *τῶν πρεσβειῶν [τῶν ἀπὸ πάσης] Ἀσίας πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον*. The author's name, if mentioned at all, could then come afterward.

Since the *τῶν* after *συναγωγὴ* cannot be eliminated from the text, the only alternative is to suppose that the collection is not made by Callisthenes but that it is a collection of material from Callisthenes—for example, of speeches or anecdotes or opinions taken from his works. In view of the rhetorical interest of the "Embassies," I propose to read *συναγωγὴ τῶν προομιῶν Καλλισθένου*, "A Collection of the Introductions of Callisthenes." Such *prooimia* could be either the introductions to different books of his historical works or the introductory paragraphs of speeches inserted in these works. Since Callisthenes certainly inserted speeches in his histories (they are specifically attested for his earlier work, the *Hellenica*,<sup>8</sup> even if evidence is lacking for his account of Alexander's expedition), the second of these alternatives seems, on the whole, the more likely. Theophrastus, another Peripatetic and a friend of Callisthenes, apparently published a book of *prooimia*, which Diogenes Laertius mentions in listing his works.<sup>9</sup> This compilation presumably offered model rhetorical openings for students of oratory, and it seems likely that this collection of the *prooimia* of Callisthenes is intended for the same purpose, that it is, in fact, a rhetorical textbook and definitely a "useful" book because rhetoric is an entirely proper subject of study for a man who intends to enter the public service.

One more possibility must be considered before deciding definitely on the restoration of lines 5 and 6. Other books may be mentioned in the lost portion of the papyrus, and it is therefore possible that the surviving text lists not two works but one: "A Collection of the Introductions of Callisthenes from His Work on Embassies" (*ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβειῶν*?) or something of that sort. But this is an exceedingly long and clumsy title, and the editors' *καὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν*, which assumes two distinct works, seems more satisfactory. The writer's use of *καὶ* instead of giving the full title, *συναγωγὴ τῶν πρεσβειῶν*, can be explained by the similar character of the two collections, both of which have a rhetorical interest.

<sup>7</sup> Frags. 8 and 44.

<sup>8</sup> Diog. Laert. v. 48.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IIB, 115, Frag. 4.

I would propose, therefore, to restore the text of the fragment as follows:

ἃ κατηνέχθη  
'Ε] φαρμοστῶι βυβλία  
συναγωγῇ τῶν προ  
οιμίων] Καλλισθένοϋς  
καὶ τῶν π]ρεσβειῶν  
τῶν ἀ]πὸ πάσ[ης] 'Α[σί  
ας πρὸς 'Αλέξανδρον] . . .

If προοιμίων is the right reading, the papyrus shows us that Callisthenes is still respected as a rhetorician fifty years after his death. Such a discovery may be considered adequate compensation for the disappointment that some people may feel if Callisthenes is to be deprived of a "new" work. The story of Callisthenes, as told by Arrian and Plutarch,<sup>10</sup> emphasizes his rhetorical brilliance as well as his tactlessness at Alexander's court; his

rhetorical style is quite well illustrated by some of his fragments, especially the fragment from his memoir of Hermias of Atarneus;<sup>11</sup> and Aristotle's remark that "he had great gifts of speech but no wisdom" is an additional reminder that his real talent may have been for rhetoric rather than for philosophy or history.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, a book of "selections" from his work could be put together in the library at Alexandria and need not necessarily have any author's name attached to it. The same thing may be said of the "Collection of Embassies." It does not matter who edited the collection, but it would be interesting to know from what historian he took his material. It certainly seems more likely that the collection was made from histories than that it was taken from official records.

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<sup>10</sup> Arrian *Anab.* iv. 10-14; Plut. *Alex.* 52-54.

<sup>11</sup> Frag. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Plut. *Alex.* 54.

#### ON TWO ATHENIAN ARCHONS

Domitius Aristaeus of the deme Paeonidae, an Athenian archon attested by an inscription published in *Hesperia*, XI (1942), 65, No. 30, is probably to be identified with Domitius Aristaeus, the recipient of Caracalla's rescripts (*Cod. Iust.* iv. 32. 7 and x. 9. 1), since the inscription can be dated early in the third century and since the Athenians frequently invited generous foreigners to accept Athenian citizenship and to assume the costly honor of the eponymous magistracy at Athens. E. Groag (*PIR*<sup>2</sup>, III, D 134) suggested—rightly, I think—that the recipient of Caracalla's rescripts might be identical with M. Ulpius Domitius Aristaeus Arabianus of Amastrius, who was legate in Asia sometime between A.D. 208 and 217 (*MAMA*, IV, 10 and 331).

Groag connected with M. Ulpius Domitius Aristaeus Arabianus another Athenian archon, who in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1824, is called ]ριος 'Αραβιανός

Μαραθῶνιος, and in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1830, ὁ κ[ρά(τι-στος)] | [- - -]ρι[.]ετιος 'Αραβι[ανός], and perhaps in *Hesperia*, Vol. XI, No. 32: 'Αραβια]νός Μαρ[αθῶνιος. Graindor (*Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire* [Brussels, 1922], No. 168) restored the gentilicium as Δ]ρι[μ]ετιος, but one could think also of Σαλλ]ρι[ε]τιος. He may be the same archon who in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078, appears merely as Arabianus without gentilicium or demotic. Since --tius Arabianus of Marathon is clearly distinct from Domitius Aristaeus of the deme Paeonidae, it seems better to reject absolutely the identification of the archon Arabianus with M. Ulpius Domitius Aristaeus Arabianus. The latter's name would be abbreviated as Domitius Aristaeus rather than as Domitius Arabianus.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Hermes the Thief: The Evolution of a Myth.* By NORMAN O. BROWN. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1947. Pp. viii+164+1 pl. \$3.00.

In this attractive little book Professor Brown inquires into the genesis of Hermes the Thief. He traces the evolution of the complex Hermes of classical Greece, investigating on his way the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, the Hesiodic poems, the herms, and many another interesting subject.

He begins by questioning the frequent derivation of Hermes the Thief from Hermes the Shepherd by way of the myth of Hermes' theft of Apollo's kine. And, whereas scholars have commonly considered the trickster Hermes to be an extension of the thief, Brown sees it the other way: the trickster was first, and the thief is a phase of him. And Hermes, he says, was a trickster because he was a magician; and his magic powers are the source of all his later provinces and functions and are due to his being originally the boundary-stone, or god of it, and thus involved in the magic rites practiced in dealing with strangers; for, he holds, the first commercial and diplomatic contacts took place at the boundary.

So much for the god. The *Hymn* he considers to be Athenian, and his confidence goes so far as to date it 520-519. He even believes that the *Hymn* describes the Athenian sacrifices to the Twelve Gods.

Brown is justified in saying that the early Greeks did not clearly distinguish between trickery and theft, both conceptions being present in κλέπτειν and related words. But the way he puts it is to say (p. 9) that "primitive peoples" do not make the distinction; here and elsewhere he appears to look upon preclassical Greeks as primitives, which is hardly true. Moreover, the association of trickery and theft has nothing to do with primitive, as against civilized, habits of thought. Brown is hardly right in his argument that κλέπτειν, etc., im-

plied only trickery in Homeric Greek but theft in fifth-century Attic. The truth is that κλέπτειν maintained its whole range of meaning throughout, as a glance at the citations in Liddell and Scott will prove. It means fundamentally "to deceive," "to cheat," one phase of which is "theft, taking by craft or stealth." Compare the range of Latin *furtum*. Brown's argument (p. 10, n. 15) that even in *Iliad* iii. 11 κλέπτῃς is preferably "trickster" cannot be taken seriously.

Furthermore, Brown wants to give κλέπτειν a connotation of magical action. He says (p. 18) that this connotation "is apparent in the examples already considered." But it is by no means apparent in them; in, e.g., *Iliad* xiv. 217 the verb indicates only the seduction of the wits that the passion of love induces: it causes a man to lose his head; and it is stretching credulity to believe that Homer was more likely to see magic in this than we are. Likewise, Brown attempts to read magic into δόλος and κέρδος, an attempt that fails.

He undertakes this semantic study in order to prove Hermes a magician in "the oldest stratum of Greek mythology." But in all this, I believe, he is subject to some confusion about the word "magic." For example, as evidence of Hermes' magic he points to the infant Hermes' passing through a keyhole, to the large wattled shoes that he made for himself, and to his rod that has power to charm. Now none of this, it seems, is the magic of which anthropologists speak, the rituals designed to control the course of nature, based on association of ideas through similarity and contiguity. Rather it is legerdemain, conjuring, that Brown has in mind; he has confused "magic" in the technical sense with "magic" in the popular sense of stage magicians' tricks and with the marvelous in general. Not that this sort of "magic" is present in the *Hymn* either. There Hermes can do what any god can do: he can change his shape at will; and his rod,

like that of Dionysus and like Zeus's staff and aegis or Yahweh's ark of the covenant, is charged with supernatural power, *mana*. As for the improvised shoes, it took only skill to make them. Nothing of magical import is to be gathered from Apollo's words (*H. Herm.* 343) about the footprints: *καὶ ἀγανὸν δαίμονος ἔργα*. Brown's translation (p. 11) is misleading: "the work of a mighty demon." Rather Apollo is exclaiming at the gigantic size of the tracks, "the products of no mean power." Of course, the skilled technician and the artful dodger have always been credited with magical knowledge and powers by the ignorant and superstitious; but Hermes, apparently, has no special connection with magic arts or witchcraft. There is no real evidence for it in Brown's citations.

Hermes the Magician, Brown says, developed out of the god of boundaries, who was represented by an upright stone. This leads to a discussion of herms, concerning which Brown accepts the theory of Wilamowitz, Nilsson, and others, who trace the classical herm back to the stone-heap by the wayside, to which each wayfarer added a stone. The familiar herm of Greek art was, he says, an Athenian invention, introduced by Hipparchus in the last quarter of the sixth century.

To the stone-heap Brown, like Wilamowitz, applies the word *ἔρμα* and believes that Hermes took his name from it. But there is no evidence that the word was ever applied to the stone-heap, which the lexicographers and scholiasts called *ἔρμαξ* or *ἔρμαον*; rather it was a single piece of wood or stone used in various ways as a prop or support. Also the lexicographers and scholiasts are, except for a late poet, the only authorities to connect Hermes with the stone-heaps. This suggests that the connection was due to a false etymology. And one must remember that the images were always called *Ἑρμαῖ*.

Though Brown refers once to Hetty Goldman's article on the herms (*AJA*, XLVI [1942], 58-68), he says nothing about her conclusions that the classical herm was an adaptation to stone sculpture of the earlier crude wooden image, the *bretas*, a wooden shaft with brackets, mask, and sometimes garments, and

that such images were originally created for Dionysus. Certain it is that other gods than Hermes—e.g., Dionysus, Apollo, Athena—were often represented by crude images of the sort.

Also Brown's statements that the herm was an Athenian invention and that Hipparchus first set up herms must be qualified; for Miss Goldman makes it plain that crude herms in wooden form had existed long before, that the stone herms of the familiar type were probably in use for some time before appearing in art around 525-500 B.C., and that in Hipparchus' time the herms were multiplied and spread about the roads of Attica, coming into use then as distance markers. The very term *Hipparcheioi Hermai* implies a new sort of herm, not the first herms of all.

For stone-heaps Brown cites (p. 33, n. 2) *Odyssey* xvi. 471 and Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 283. These verses refer to hills or crags. Pausanias viii. 36. 10 refers to a stone image of Hermes.

Throughout the book Brown takes it for granted that the poems of Homer and Hesiod represent a very early stratum of Greek religion and mythology and that the Homeric poems describe the Mycenaean civilization (e.g., pp. 28, 49 f.). But it is unlikely, as Carpenter has shown (*Folktale, Fiction, and Saga in the Homeric Epics*), that Homer knew anything about the Mycenaean civilization; it is more likely that the epics reflect the period in which they grew, 1000-700 B.C.

Brown's remarks on pages 48-50 concerning a pyramidal structure of social classes in Homeric society take no account of Calhoun's findings in his "Classes and Masses in Homer" (*CP*, XXIX [1934], 192-208, 301-16). Also he assumes that the Homeric monarchy is identical with the Mycenaean. This is much like assuming that the monarchies of Siegfried, Gunther, and Etzel in the *Nibelungenlied* are identical with the Roman monarchy. The Mycenaean kings may have been Greeks; likewise Odoacer and Theodoric ruled in Rome over a Roman, not a German, state.

Again, Brown maintains that Hermes invaded Apollo's sphere of music on the argument that Apollo only is a musician in Homer

and Hesiod, while Hermes makes his first appearance as such in Eumelus, whom Brown dates in the seventh century. Even that date may put Eumelus no later than the epic poets; and he is traditionally dated in the second half of the eighth century.

Too often what appears first as surmise shows up later in the book as assumed fact. Or a great structure is built on a dubious and slender foundation. For instance, Hesiod says that Hermes contributed guile and the like to Pandora; but if one should read *Hermes the Thief* without knowledge of Hesiod's poems one would be convinced that Hesiod often introduces Hermes as "a sinister figure," blackening his character and reducing him "to the rank of a satan." What other passages does Brown rely upon? He cites only *WD* 320-25, which has nothing to do with Hermes.

This is another bad habit of Brown's: too often his citations of ancient authors have no bearing on his point. Furthermore, he does not rely upon them so much as upon modern scholars, e.g., Wilamowitz, Nilsson, Harrison; in fact, he often cites the moderns first in his notes, with two or three citations of ancients tagging along behind.

He makes the semantic error of confusing mythology with religion. On page 93, for instance, he uses the two terms interchangeably. But it is better to make a clear distinction; for the myths lack the religious emotions, nor do they constitute a creed or a theology of the ancient Greek religion.

There are a number of minor slips, of which I shall point out only the following:

Page 24: "gods which": surely the gods are worthy of being called "who."

Page 35: Like Miss Hamilton, Brown appears to consider Priapus a Roman deity.

Pages 39 f.: Brown fails to see Wayland Smith in the Hephaestus of Lipara and Strongyle.

Pages 56, 130: Brown insists on putting Theognis in the seventh century. He should tell us why he adopts this date and not the late sixth century, as most authorities do.

Pages 74, 131: Also he places the Brygos painter in the sixth century. But no one dates any of his work earlier than 490 or 480.

Page 58: On Pandora as the Earth-Goddess see Kurt von Fritz, "Pandora, Prometheus, and the Myth of the Ages," *Review of Religion*, 1947, 230, who sensibly points out "how remote all this is from the story told by Hesiod."

Pages 115 ff.: Since the altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens was established in 514-511 and no evidence of an earlier altar can be found and since Brown wants to date the *Hymn* in 520/19, though arguing that the *Hymn's* account of the infant Hermes' sacrifice describes practices in the Athenian cult of the Twelve Gods, he resorts to the hypothesis of an altarless cult. Now an altarless cult in ancient Greece is impossible; for there was only one thing necessary to a cult, and that was an altar. Temple, image, *temenos*, could be attached to it, but nothing else was essential. Brown cites the cult of Hestia, saying that there the hearth was substituted for an altar. He does not seem to realize that the hearth is one kind of altar, that all the cults of chthonian deities and of heroes had an *eschara* instead of a *bomos*. But the cult of the Twelve Gods could hardly be chthonian. Therefore, if it existed before 514, it must have had a *bomos*.

But the whole of Brown's argument that the *Hymn* is Athenian and that it presents the ritual of sacrifice to the Twelve Gods lacks cogency. Why in the world must one suppose that when the poet has the infant Hermes make sacrifice he must be literally describing an actual cult procedure?

I have criticized a good deal in this book, but I am none the less glad that Professor Brown has produced it. As a colleague of mine has said, it is good to see a scholar come forward with bold hypotheses, however questionable; for they stimulate discussion and further study, and so knowledge is advanced. We need more bold spirits in scholarship; for of the timid and overcautious we have more than enough.

As positive merits of this book I may point to Brown's linking of religious changes to changes in social and economic conditions. It is very likely that the commercial and artisan classes tended to promote the cult of Hermes, while Apollo was favored by the landowning aristocrats. Also Brown does well to point out

the resemblances among Hermes, Prometheus, Loki, and the Eden serpent. But we must notice that Hermes is admitted to the company of the Olympians, while Prometheus is not, and Loki is never really an Asa.

The book has a good bibliography of books and articles and an index.

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*Corpus Hermeticum*. Ed. and trans. by A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière. 2 vols. Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1945.

So many learned enterprises have been disrupted or abandoned during the war that it is a pleasure to welcome one which has been continued with success and completed with distinction. The principal difficulty in the study of the Hermetic corpus has been the absence of a sound edition of the text. The Greek editions operated with only two manuscripts: A (Laurentianus 71.33 [XIV Cent.]) and a lost ally of D (Vindobonensis phil. 102 [XV Cent.]). The most commonly used edition in modern times is Parthey's,<sup>1</sup> based on A and B (Parisinus gr. 1220 [XIV Cent.]). Parthey's text left much to be desired from every point of view<sup>2</sup> and was replaced by Scott's ambitious undertaking,<sup>3</sup> in which eight manuscripts were employed for the Greek corpus: ABDC (Vat. gr. 237 [XIV Cent.]), M (Vat. gr. 951 [XIV Cent.]), and three Oxford manuscripts: Q (Bodl. 3388 [XV Cent.]), R (Bodl. 8827 [XVI Cent.]), and S (Bodl. 3037 [XVI Cent.]). Scott maintained that Q and its copy (Bodl. 16987 [XVI Cent.]) were closely connected with D, that R was a copy of A in *Corp.* i-xiv and allied to D in *Corp.* xvi-xviii, and that S was "closely connected with C." In addition to manuscripts, Scott, together with A. S. Ferguson, made an extensive investigation of allusions to the Hermetic literature and quotations from it by Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic writers from the second to the thirteenth centuries. In spite

of its range and many thoughtful observations on the text and its transmission, Scott's treatment both of the text and of the testimonia suffered from disconcerting eccentricities in theory and presentation.

The soundest work on the Greek manuscripts before Nock's was Reitzenstein's edition of *Corp.* i. 14-18.<sup>4</sup> Reitzenstein examined the early editions and employed collations of ABCDM. He also made sample collations of Parisinus gr. 1297 (XVI Cent.) (similar in content to A but more closely related in text to B<sup>2</sup>), Vat. gr. 914 (XV Cent.), and the worthless Parisinus gr. suppl. 395 (XVII Cent.). Reitzenstein's reprint of *Poimandres* in his *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, pp. 154-61, tapped no more sources but presented a revised text of *P. Berol.*, 9794 (III Cent.), which contains a variant of the prayer at the end of *Poimandres* (p. 31).<sup>5</sup>

The extant manuscripts are all paper and all of the fourteenth century and later. In Reitzenstein's view they descend from a single archetype prepared in the eleventh century by Michael Psellos, whose name is attached to a scholion added in the margin of B by a later hand to the text of i. 18.<sup>6</sup> This scholion, which has been awkwardly assimilated into the text of M, points out that "this sorcerer," i.e., the author of *Poimandres*, differs from Genesis in his account of man's creation. It mentions "Poimandres of the Greeks" but adds that it is unclear who he was. It seems likely that Psellos, who had some knowledge of the *Hermetica*, was commenting on this passage; but there is no indication that he edited *Poimandres*, much less the Hermetic corpus as a whole.

Nock's edition provides new manuscript evidence. In addition to A, he has studied seven manuscripts of the same type, ranging from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.<sup>7</sup> B and M stand by themselves, but C is shown to have a family of three manuscripts of the fif-

<sup>4</sup> *Poimandres*, pp. 319-60.

<sup>5</sup> *Studien*, pp. 154-61.

<sup>6</sup> *Poimandres*, p. 333.

<sup>7</sup> Ottob. gr. 153 (XV-XVI Cent.); Vat. gr. 1949 (XV-XVI Cent.); Coislinianus 332 (XV Cent.); Bologna Univ. 2294 (XVI Cent.); Besançon IX sig 408 (XVI Cent.); Paris suppl. gr. 395 (XVII Cent.); Parisinus 2518 (XVI Cent.).

<sup>1</sup> G. Parthey, *Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander* (Berlin, 1854).

<sup>2</sup> Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 322.

<sup>3</sup> W. Scott, *Hermetica*, Vols. I-IV (Oxford, 1924-36).

teenth to sixteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> With D, Nock associates an inferior group of the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries<sup>9</sup> and has noted fragmentary texts in five manuscripts of the same age.<sup>10</sup> This additional material has supplied little of textual value.

Nock presents conclusive evidence of the descent of all extant Greek manuscripts from a common archetype, probably a minuscule<sup>11</sup> but has wisely refrained from associating this textual conclusion with the scholion from Psellos. He thinks that the archetype contained interlinear additions and corrections and occasionally copied out alternative texts without clearly distinguishing between them. A contains *Corp.* i-xiv, and no member of its family contains more. Nock suggests that xvi-xviii may have been omitted because their titles were missing in an ancestor of A and the scribe assumed them to belong to another collection. In any case, one of its ancestors was illegible at more than one point, and A exhibits lacunae as well as a general tendency to abbreviate by omission. It contains, however, mainly good readings, some supported, others unsupported by B, C, and M. Manuscript B has been corrected by at least two hands, has been disfigured by erasures, and contains the usual errors and omissions and some singular readings of little note. C offers only 24 singular readings, all mistakes, three of which have been corrected by a later hand. The singular readings of M are more numerous and more notable than those of B and C. Several are clearly right, and one is confirmed against the other manuscripts by Stobaeus. It has twenty-four obvious errors and a lacuna filled in by a

later hand. Nock suggests rightly that it is a mixed text.

D and its allies descend from M or one of its ancestors. It is an edited text. It omits the scholion of Psellos, I fancy deliberately, and has been subject to some crossing, the nature and extent of which are not perfectly clear. Most of its agreements with A and B against M appear fortuitous or conjectural. The omission of *ἡμῶν . . . νοείται* (ii. 6) with BC is by homoioteleuton. The restoration of the phrase by D<sup>2</sup> comes apparently from A. Its presence in Bon cannot be explained without fuller knowledge of the peculiarities of that manuscript.

N is fragmentary but highly anomalous in its support. Nock cites agreements with A, A<sup>2</sup> AC, AM, AB, and CM and regards them as possible indications of a throwback beyond the text of the other manuscripts. This seems highly unlikely. The agreements with A are impressive, but those with B alone are much less so. In v. 1, *γὰρ* is wrongly omitted after *εἶπεν*, perhaps because it was used in the previous clause. In x. 17 *συμπνεῖν* is reduced erroneously to *πνεῖν*, perhaps because of a redundancy felt with *συννοεῖν* in the preceding clause. This careless reduction is, however, common enough in Byzantine texts. In xii. 19, *προγεγενημένα* is read for A's *γεγενημένα*; but *προγεγενημένα* probably stood in A's ancestor as in BD. In xvi. 17, *ἦ* is read correctly before *περιγίως* and *οὕτω* for *οὕτως* before *πάντα* in the same passage; but here A is missing. Agreements of N with CM include two cases of *εἶναι* for *εἶναι* (iv. 8 and x. 17), where only *εἶναι* makes sense. It seems probable that N is derived from a debased copy of an ancestor of A. Its frequent attempts to improve the text by conjecture do not conceal this fact. Its diffused support of the other witnesses is unimpressive when the evidence is closely analyzed.

Nock's treatment of the testimonia is brief and incisive. The text of the prayer at the end of *Poimandres*, found in *P. Berol.*, 9794, is not a quotation but an adaptation. A few phrases from the prayer are found on an amulet in the British Museum, published by Campbell Bonner. The variants of neither are significant. Lactantius quotes xii. 23 in Latin and *Ascle-*

<sup>8</sup> Venetus Marclianus 263 (XV Cent.); Parisinus 2007 (XVI Cent.); Ottob. gr. 177 (XVI Cent.).

<sup>9</sup> Ven, Venetus Marclianus 242 (XV Cent.); Pal, Palatinus gr. 53 (XVI Cent.); Bon, Bologna, Bibl. comm. dell' Archiginnasio A 13 (XV Cent.); Trin, Trin. Coll. Camb. 205 (B. 9. 9) (XVI Cent.); R, Bodl. 8827 (XVI Cent.) (for *Corp.* xvi-xviii); S, Bodl. 3037 (XVI Cent.); Bodl. 16987. These were the Bodleian manuscripts used by Scott. To d belong also the *editio princeps* and some recorded readings.

<sup>10</sup> Vat, Vat. gr. 914 (XV Cent.); Matr, Matritensis gr. 84 (XV Cent.); N, Neapolitanus II c 32 (XIV-XV Cent.); Angelinus 63 (c. 4013) (XVI Cent.).

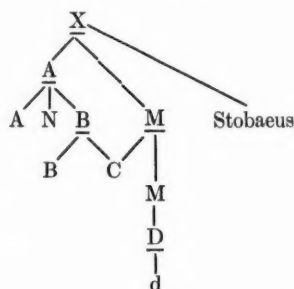
<sup>11</sup> There are traces in the text of the archetype of misreadings of an earlier uncial (cf. 1, 10, 21, 11, 3, 14, 11, 34, 9, 35, 3).



*pius* in a version different from the current one. The text of xii. 23 is without interest. Those passages appear to contain reminiscences of the *Corpus* but have no textual value. Didymus the Blind quotes vi. 2, but without important variants. The two quotations of Cyril of Alexandria (xi. 22; xiv. 6-7, 8-10) offer improvements over the text of the manuscripts, but Nock is probably right in regarding them as conjectural. The extensive quotations of Stobaeus are quite a different matter and, in spite of conventional imperfections, provide fragments of a fifth-century text of *Corp.* ii, iv, and x which is often different from, and frequently superior to, the text of the manuscripts. Nock points out several errors common to Stobaeus and the manuscripts which might point to a common archetype short of the original. None, however, is conclusive, and Stobaeus must be regarded as an early branch of transmission divergent from the archetype of the manuscripts. Differences of critical opinion on the relative merits of Stobaeus and the manuscripts are not likely to be entirely resolved. A number of difficult readings in the manuscript text cannot be explained away (e.g., ii. 9: *αψυχον ουκ αψυχον κτλ*; iv. 1: *αλλα παντα κτλ*), and it should not be forgotten that Stobaeus was not a scribe but a critic who would hardly quote nonsense to illustrate his points. His readings have a tendency to smoothness and clear meaning which cannot always be trusted. I am not certain that the repetition of *σωμα εστιν κτλ* (iv. 12) is not original or that the awkward manuscript text in ii. 10 (*ουδεν δε των κτλ*) has not been doctored by Stobaeus. Nock rightly prefers the manuscript text at x. 8 and x. 24. If the text of Stobaeus ii. 10 is due to scribes, they were no mere copyists or rhetoricians.

The discussion of the interrelationship of the manuscripts is the least satisfactory part of Nock's work. He thinks in terms of a fluid tradition in which the archetype of the extant manuscripts marks a single point. In a sense this is true of all archetypes. He considers agreements and disagreements between the codices as a patchwork of crossing and emendation of which no clear picture can be reconstructed. I venture to think that he has underestimated the evidence for a stemma. Obviously,

the later manuscripts at our disposal are riddled with copyists' errors and emendations, but their archetypes appear intelligibly related. In spite of its imperfections, A is the most reliable witness to the text of *Corp.* i-xiv, except in a few readings where M preserves a superior text. The relationship between A and B is close, and none of its singular readings is more than a scribal vagary or points to other sources than an ancestor common to A and B, the latter of which serves for A in *Corp.* xvi-xviii. The agreements cited by Nock between AC against BM consist in the omission of one article; a change of *τον* to *το* before *αγαθον*, a natural slip; and the substitution of *καταληψη* for *μεταληψη*, an easy misreading attested independently by N. Against AM, BC agree twenty-one times, but this need not occasion surprise if, as I think, C descends from an archetype intermediate between B and A. The agreements of AM merely attest the frequent excellence of the latter's mixed text. The following stemma would apparently cover the facts:



With regard to the origin of the Hermetic corpus, Nock is extremely reserved. He rightly dismisses Psellus as either the compiler of the *Corpus* or the editor of the archetype. Nevertheless, "Psellus provides a terminus ante quem" for the collection. Sometime before his day, Nock thinks, a devotee of the Hermetic teaching compiled the *Corpus*, which came later to be regarded not as esoteric scripture but as a philosophical work. Nock rejects Scott's hypothesis of transmission through the Sabaeans but does not exclude the possibility that the collection was re-formed or reissued in response to one of the revivals of Neo-Plato-

nism in Byzantium in the ninth and eleventh centuries.

A special textual problem is created by the *Λόγος Ἀσκληίου* or *Asclepius*, as it is called in the Latin version. The Greek text survives only in fragments, mainly from Stobaeus, but is attested by a quotation from a magical papyrus of the fourth century; the Latin is complete and is quoted by Augustine. Its text has met with better fortune than the Greek corpus. A competent edition of it was produced by A. Goldbacher in 1876 and a masterly study made by P. Thomas in our own generation ("Bibliotheca Teubneriana" [1921]). The manuscripts are of much earlier date than the Greek witnesses: M (Monacensis 621 [XII Cent.]); V (Vaticanus 3385 [XII Cent.]); G (Gudianus 168 [Wolfenbüttel] [XIII Cent.]); P (Parisinus 6634 [XII Cent.]); L (Laurentianus LXXXVI. 36, XII-XIII Cent.); F (Florentinus 284 [XII Cent.]); B (Bruxellensis 10054-56 [early XI Cent.]). Of these, B is superior not only in age but in the quality of its text. M and V are closely allied and are followed in the main by G. A late family is formed by PLF. Nock regards MV as a derivative of a forerunner, not a copy, of B and thinks G is a mixed text allied to both MBV and LPF. The quotations in Augustine from chapters 23, 24, 37, offer a few noteworthy readings but agree more closely with the text of the manuscripts than do the quotations of Stobaeus and Cyril in the Greek. Medieval quotations from the twelfth century on are numerous but possess no textual value.

The origin of the Latin *Asclepius* is unknown. Scott's hypothesis that it is a work of M. Victorinus is not supported by the style of Victorinus' commentaries. Chalcidius is similarly ruled out. Nock has made illuminating and suggestive observations on the Latinity of the version which will serve as guideposts to future investigators.

The student of the contents of the *Hermetica* finds himself at the beginning, not at the end, of his task when confronted with the evidence for the archetype of the manuscripts and testimonia. The condition of the text when all documentary resources have been exploited is appalling. The degree of corruption varies considerably among the different treatises,

but any conclusions about the thought of the Hermetic writings must depend to an uncomfortably large extent upon conjectural emendation. Indispensable also is a learned commentary from allied philosophical and religious literature. The *Hermetica* not only are full of allusions to earlier sources and ideas but move in a world of controversy, without a clear and detailed picture of which its arguments are unintelligible. This formidable task of comment has been executed with great competence by Festugière, whose French translation of the turgid and often obscure Greek is a masterpiece of skill and discretion.

A third volume may be expected to deal with the thought and style of the *Hermetica* and round the work out with indexes. In these two volumes the authors cannot be too highly commended for carrying through, on two sides of the Atlantic, a delicate and difficult task under the unfavorable conditions of a war-ridden world.

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*A Glossary of Greek Fishes.* By SIR D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON, C.B. ("St. Andrews University Publications," No. XLV.) London: Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. vi+302. 21s. net.

*Le Vocabulaire des animaux marins en latin classique.* By É. DE SAINT-DENIS. ("Études et commentaires," Vol. II.) Paris: Klincksieck, 1947. Pp. xxx+120. Price not stated.

Scholarship goes round in circles. The compilers of medieval glossaries, misguided enough to be born before the "McBee Keysort," were no more widely read than their modern brethren who produce the Brobdingnagian monsters of our day. However, they had their special lexicons of hard words in authors; and they had their modest files of classified names, strung together on a common topic, for example, the "index nominum animalium" of Polemnius Silvius. Items from such-like *spicilegia*, once they have been entombed in this or that thesaurus, are buried forever in the arbitrary arrangement that loses semasiologically as much as it gains alphabetically—except for the

well-read, who knew what to look for. The rest are not likely ever to find research made easy by any thesaurus. Brains are better than *fiches*, and the Cains who till the horistic ground, foreknowing the curses that will be theirs, do well to praise the Abels that keep the sheep. The editors of the new L-S, at least, deplored the "want of a glossary of the Animal Kingdom"; and the fullest of commentaries, those deserts of footnotes around an oasis of text, smother their fauna and flora as effectively as the dictionaries. The wheel has come the full circle; dictionary and commentary still have occasion for concordance and glossary. Names of plants and animals are among the most defeating, in both definition and etymology. Sir D'Arcy W. Thompson, I need not say, was a natural historian of renown as well as a classical scholar; M. de Saint-Denis goes fishing with his two sons. So both know whereof they speak.

Some five-sixths of the names of the beasts of the sea caught by Saint-Denis are not Latin at all, but Greek, either taken entire into Latin or merely translated (e.g., *dentex* = *συνδδους*)—ignoring the few of northern origin, like *esox*, which came in from Gaul and has derivatives in the modern Celtic languages (though it is possibly pre-Keltic, as the termination *-ox* suggests), and the handful of even more obscure origin. Hence most of what there is in his catch turns up also in Sir D'Arcy's net—and more, too, since Saint-Denis has reserved freshwater fish. Besides, Greek has a great many names of fish that never got into Latin, and actually Thompson also gives us the Latin names, as well as the English, both of which appear in his Index. He has the advantage, too, in the large number of excellent illustrations that he has been able to include. Saint-Denis refers his readers to the works of Brehm and others for pictures. It is evident that neither author knew of the other's work; Saint-Denis has made use of J. Cotte, *Poissons et animaux aquatiques au temps de Plîne* (Paris, 1944), which, like Strömberg's *Studien* (cf. CP, XLII [1947], 134; not mentioned by Saint-Denis) reached Thompson "just too late to be made use of." If I mistake not, there are one or two items in Saint-Denis' bibliography which seem

to have escaped the St. Andrews professor; but is it possible that Saint-Denis is unaware of Rolland's *Faune et flore populaire*? It was inevitable that the same references, descriptions, and identifications should appear under the same head in both Scottish and French savant; the likeness and the general agreement between them are proof, if proof were needed, of the merit of both. Read with Strömberg as a supplement, they give well-nigh all that is known about what the ancients knew about fish, and a good deal of what has since been learned about them. The temptation to explore what is not known, conspicuously in matters of etymology, which, where animal names are concerned, is usually either straightforward and certain or else all but hopeless, has been wisely resisted. Thompson's *Glossary* will be a stand-by for years to come. To boot, it makes fascinating reading, thanks to the wealth of zoological knowledge that its author commanded.

My criticisms are in matters of detail. I suppose *alausea* (Thompson, p. 10) appears, since the shad also has Greek names; for *alausea* is not Greek. Nor is this name (cf. Thompson, pp. 77, 118) connected with *allēc* (*halēc*), which might be. It is no novelty (cf. Saint-Denis, p. xxiv) to observe that many names are common to birds and fish (e.g., *χελιδών*, *hirundo*; *passer*; *turdus*). I conjecture that *alausea* is none other than *alauda*. The alternation *d:s* represents a Gaulish affricate variously written (cf. *Dirona*:*Sirona*, as well as *Dirona*), or variously heard by Roman ears, possibly even a variation in dialect (Dottin, *La Langue gauloise*, p. 62, n. 3). Also Celtic is *anc[h]orago*, the name of a salmon in the Rhine (Thompson, p. 14), in which the late spelling *-ch-*, as well as *-g-*, may reflect a Germanic utterance, if the etymology proposed by Schuchardt (*\*anko-prōk-*) is correct; the shift from *ō* to *ā* is both Germanic and Celtic, but *ch* from *c* (with the preceding accent) and *g* (3, cf. *ancorauius*, Pol. Silv.), together with *ā* from *ō*, show the Gaulish word in a Germanic shape, such as might be expected on the linguistic frontier. *Fario* (Thompson, p. 73, a sea-trout, Aus. Mos. 128), on the other hand, which is omitted entirely from *TLL* and condemned as

a false reading for *sario* by Walde-Hofmann, is good Germanic—OHG *forhana* (mod. *Forelle* for \**for(h)en-lēn*). The *varius* of Isidore I take also to be German (cf. MHG *vare* = OHG *faro*). The Keltic equivalent here is *Mīr.erc* (cf. Mod. Ir. *earc*, "salmon"), and both represent IE \**perk-*.

There is nothing to commend Ascoli's claim to *clupea* (Thompson, p. 117) as Gaulish. And is *lagois* (Thompson, p. 142) a fish? All the commentators, from Porphyryon down, have taken it to be a bird, connecting its name with *λαγώς*. Thompson gives no hint of his reason for thinking it a fish; there is, however, a puzzling *λέλερις* in Hesychius (Thompson, p. 147), for which Saint-Denis (p. 53) refers us to "*lelepris* (?): poisson inconnu; Pl. 32.149." However, the reading in Pliny is far from certain, and the modern forms, in particular *lap-paru* (Catania), suggest that Brotier, followed by Detlefsen, may have been right in reading *lepris* for the *elepris* of *RdTb*. The *lelepris* of Jan and Mayhoff rests only on Hesychius. In Horace's *lagois* we have a word used by no other Latin writer. Perhaps it is too facile a way out of the crux at Juv. 5. 104 (not 106; Saint-Denis, p. 60), discussed in *Harv. Stud.*, XLVII (not XLVI, Thompson, p. 141) (1936), 11–12, to suggest *labrax sparsus* for the corrupt *glacie aspersus*—the contrast would then be between the imported *muraena* (v. 99) and the native *lupus*, and *λάβραξ* would have to be added to the Latin dictionary.

*Salmo* is one of a longish list of words that I have discovered to be common to Aquitania and to Gallia Belgica. Though *salar* means "trout," the name must be related. It is attested only for Belgica, but the ending *-ar* suggests a pre-Indo-European source, and the relation between *salmo* and *salar* may well be the same as between *Aramo* (cf. *navtae* . . . *Aramici*) and *Arar* (cf. *navtae Ararici*; see the ancient sources in Holder *AcSpr.*, I, 171–76), *Aramo* standing perhaps for an older \**Armo*.

As for *tec(c)o* (Thompson p. 258), this (*Tecco*) is a personal name at Trier (*CIL*, 10002. 497), with the characteristic gemination (*-cc-*) of pet-names, and I suspect that a variant appears in *tinca* (with *e* becoming *i* before nasal plus consonant), also a personal

name (*Tinca Placentinus*, see *PID*, II, 186); on the New England coast I have heard fishermen call young mackerel "tinker mackerel," but so far have sought an explanation of "tinker" without success. Is it not the Italian *tinca*, *tenca*, i.q. *teco* (with a nasal infix) used of any small or young fish? And, finally, *tructa* (p. 271) appears to be related with *trucantus* (Fr. *trugan*, Prov. *trogan*), said to be Gaulish in origin (Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. et. Wtb.*, No. 8941).

The *Glossary of Greek Fishes* will be added to every good library. M. de Saint-Denis has interesting introductions on "les poissons dans l'alimentation et la vie des Romains"; on the sources of the names themselves, including a list of lexical equivalents (e.g., *cammarus* = *caris* = *squilla*)—a complete list, based on the *Glossary*, would be much larger, and, I suspect, reveal some interesting comparisons; on classification of the names (by reference to color, smell, taste, geographical location, and the like); and on problems of identification. The author of the *Glossary* has overlooked hardly anything in ancient authors, so that Saint-Denis' *Vocabulaire* gives only an odd reference or two that is not to be found in the *Glossary*. It was unfortunate for him that he chose to fish more restricted waters.

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*Le Pronom chez Pindare: Recherches philologiques et critiques.* By ÉDOUARD DES PLACES, S.J. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1947.

The purpose of this monograph is to present a detailed treatment of Pindar's use of pronouns, with a view to the illumination of troublesome passages. A work such as Rumpel's *Lexicon Pindaricum* by its very form precludes discussion of the most delicate distinctions of meaning, and it is this need which Father des Places has aimed to supply. For the fragments he has followed the abbreviations and numbering of Puech, but for the text in general he seems not to have adhered consistently to any single edition, since the nature of the subject frequently forces him to choose or reject some particular reading. As a rule, both

in theory (pp. 14-15) and in practice he upholds a conservative attitude toward manuscript authority, as shown, for example, in the frequent retention of  $\mu\nu$  where modern editors commonly emend it to  $\nu\nu$ . For the variation of these two forms there is a complete list on page 22, showing examples with and without manuscript variant, and also a discussion on page 24.

While pronouns in their substantival uses have been treated in full, those used as adjectives have been excluded on the ground that they present nothing of interest from the viewpoint of form, syntax, or reference. Yet, since some of the same problems arise in connection with both uses, as, for example, in the reference of the demonstratives, one might ask whether something has not been lost through the failure to include cases where the pronoun stands beside a noun.

The method followed in each of the separate chapters is to list all the occurrences of the pronoun in question, then to arrange the examples in paradigmatic form, then to classify them according to case constructions, and, finally, to discuss their employment, with special attention to the persons or things to which the pronouns have reference. Thus we have the combined advantage of tabular arrangement together with more detailed analysis of typical or problematical passages. An index of such passages is given between the Bibliography and the Table of Contents, but it may be worth while to cite a few of those which have received especially comprehensive treatment. On page 28 several interpretations of *Nem.* 3. 11 are discussed, and preference is expressed for that one which makes  $\mu\nu$  refer to  $\epsilon\mu\nu\nu$ . On page 29 the anticipatory use of  $\nu\nu$  is admitted in *Isth.* 1. 43:  $\chi\rho\eta\ \nu\nu\ \epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\rho\alpha\ \kappa\acute{o}\mu\pi\omicron\nu\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \phi\theta\omicron\nu\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\ \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\nu\ \gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ , and is rejected for *Ol.* 13. 69a and *Pyth.* 6. 19. On pages 46-47 two conflicting interpretations of *Nem.* 10. 13 are shown, each with its supporting authorities, and a decision is rendered in favor of those who make  $\delta\ \delta'$  refer to Amphitryon rather than to Zeus. On page 58 the relative  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon\nu\epsilon\varsigma$  in *Ol.* 2. 72 is taken without expressed antecedent, since  $\epsilon\sigma\lambda\omicron\iota$  (far removed in 69 and separated by

$\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ ) or  $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma$  would be unsuitable. Pages 72-73 discuss the passage  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\ \omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \mu\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$  in *Pyth.* 2. 72. On page 83, including note 2, the author discusses the interpretation of *Ol.* 2. 65, where the "dread indefiniteness" of  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  (to quote Gildersleeve's remark) gives the passage a place among several others in which the direct mention of a name is purposely avoided.

The present work deserves a place among those studies on pronouns which, because of their detailed attention to special authors, have something to contribute to the history of Greek pronouns in general; and the author in the present case has particular linguistic interest as the chief representative of choral lyric, a literary type which is mixed in its dialect and which in some respects may be viewed as showing a transition from the epic to the tragic style.

At the same time the book is a valuable addition to Pindaric studies, and those teaching or studying Pindar can be considerably helped by it. Typographical errors are few and inconsequential: on page 40, the reference to Plato *Soph.* should read "244 A 10" instead of "224 A 10"; on page 60, in *Isth.* 6. 25-26 read  $\Pi\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\Pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ ; on page 65, Table B shows ( $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\alpha$ ) as nominative, but Table A correctly shows it as accusative, with reference to *Thr.* 6. 1.

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*Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft.* Herausgegeben von der ÖSTERREICHISCHEN HUMANISTISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT, Innsbruck, im Verlag A. Söxl, Wien 1, Dr.-Karl-Lueger-Ring 6. Schriftleiter: Privatdozent DR. ROBERT MUTH (Innsbruck, Stafflerstrasse 10). Hefte I-III, März, Juni, September, 1948. "Der *Anzeiger* erscheint vierteljährlich, jedes Heft umfasst 32 Seiten. Preis des Jahrganges S 26. Einzelheft S 7.50."

The classics and classical studies have immense vitality. Throughout the terrible days of World War II, work on the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* went steadily on, and the conflict in Europe had barely ceased when the



Österreichische humanistische Gesellschaft was founded (June 18, 1945). While their country was still suffering from the grievous aftermath of the war, the members of the society sponsored a new journal, *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft*. Long ago Lowell remarked: "The riches of scholarship, the benignities of literature defy fortune and outlive calamity"; but did Lowell know of any examples comparable to those just mentioned?

Livy found that his absorption in writing of the past took his mind off the evils of his own day. In returning to the study of antiquity, the Austrian society is trying, not to escape the realities of the present, but to take cognizance of them and to make the future better. One of its lofty ideals is thus set forth in its *Satzung* (see Heft II, p. 60):

Es ist auch ein besonderer Zweck der Gesellschaft, die Wichtigkeit der Erfassung und des Verständnisses der Antike in der Erziehung des jungen Menschen im Hinblick auf seine Entfaltung zu einer harmonischen Persönlichkeit herauszustellen und für die Erhaltung und innere Belegung des humanistischen Gedankengutes in einem humanistischen Gymnasium, das im Rahmen des höheren Schulwesens Österreichs die ihm gebührende Stellung einzunehmen hätte, auf jede mögliche Weise einzutreten.

The province of the new journal, the first issue of which is dated March, 1948, is primarily bibliographical. Its appearance is especially opportune, since a big breach in classical periodical literature was left on the suspension of publication by the *Philologische Wochenschrift* and *Gnomon*.

The *Anzeiger* will offer critical reviews of books dealing with any aspect of ancient life and also of those that show the influence of antiquity throughout the centuries. As a convenience in starting the project, professors of the University of Innsbruck wrote almost all the reviews in the first number; but an appeal is made to foreign scholars to send contributions (in German) and to foreign publishers to submit copies of books for review. It seems to be the intention to devote about twenty pages of each issue to such material, an ambitious

undertaking, since the pages measure  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

The journal has on its agenda an item that might be called "old business." In a praiseworthy effort to help scholars catch up with the literature of their subject that appeared during the war, titles of books published as long ago as 1943 are given in the "Bibliographische Notizen." Under the heading "Zeitschriften und Jahrbücher" one finds lists of articles in periodicals dating equally far back.

A section called "Hinweise" contains many items of news interest about the activities and prospects of scholars, associations, periodicals, and learned publications in general. There are, for instance, two notices about the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, one on the progress of the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, and one on the work of the Austrian Archaeological Institute during the years 1938-47. Such information will be welcomed by American scholars. One is cheered by the courageous attitude and outlook of European scholars.

A section on the last page of each issue is given over to "Personalnachrichten," chiefly announcements of appointments to positions and records of deaths.

During the war two or three brief reports on the status and progress of classical studies abroad appeared in American journals. Such tasks may now be safely delegated to those more favorably situated on European watchtowers.

Our fellow-classicists in Austria are to be congratulated on their resolution and resourcefulness in founding a new journal so soon after the war. The *Anzeiger* is already successfully launched, so that a propempticon would be a little belated, but we can wish it a continuing *καλὸς πλοῦς*.

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*The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, Vol. II.

Edited by RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG and GEORGE MANTEUFFEL. Warsaw: Warsaw Society of Sciences and Letters, 1948. Pp. 119.

The appearance of Volume I of this new journal published in New York in 1946 was noted in *Classical Philology*, XLII (1947), 264. Soon after, its founder and editor, Raphael Taubenschlag, returned to Poland to become professor of ancient law at the University of Warsaw. Now Volume II has come out under the joint editorship of Taubenschlag and Dr. G. Manteuffel, professor of papyrology at the same institution, as the organ of the university's Institute of Papyrology. Accordingly, forthcoming issues of the *Journal* will bear the simpler but more comprehensive title *Journal of Papyrology*.

In conformity with its enlarged scope, Volume II contains both a juristic and a philological section, the former written in English, the latter in Latin. The juristic section contains a long and important article by W. L. Westermann, entitled "The Paramone as a General Service Contract"; "Two Petitions for Recovery (P. Col. Inv. Nos. 61-62, 318 A.D.)" by N. Lewis, who develops the significance of the documents for the judicial functions of the *praepositus pagi*; Taubenschlag's article on the various meanings of "nomos in the Papyri"; and a "Note. P. Col. Inv. No. 13, 306" by J. Falenciak, a pupil of Dr. Taubenschlag. In the philological section, Manteuffel edits a new series of papyri from the Warsaw collection, comprising eight numbers, literary and documentary. Anna Snoiderek and Irena Szyman-ska, both pupils of the two editors, present editions of documentary papyri, the former a fragment of a petition from Oxyrhynchus of A.D. 296, the latter a contract for the sale of a donkey of A.D. 311 from the same locality.

Papyrologists and other classicists will congratulate the editors upon their success in continuing the publication of the *Journal*, and welcome the appearance of new workers in the field of papyrological studies.

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*Iste Deiktikon in the Early Roman Dramatists.*

By RUTH MILDRED KELLER. Reprinted from *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, LXXVII (1946), 261-316.

The three persons of the grammar-book, if not so sacred as those of the prayer-book, are as completely dramatic as the three actors of a Sophoclean tragedy, and as unequivocal. Pronouns are words that rarely, or never, undergo semantic change. Whatever the etymology of IE \*eg(h)o(m) may be, the meaning "I" is universal in IE languages; nor is it ever used with any form of the verb other than the first person singular. When *hic* means "I," as it sometimes does, it is still third person, for the same sort of reason. Only a hypergrammatical grammarian could reason otherwise. In the same way *iste* is third person, not second person. But it developed a reference to the second person, just as *hic*, in a much more limited use, did to the first. Dr. Keller argues that *iste* is not exclusively used in early Latin plays with reference to the second person, large as that reference inevitably looms in dramatic diction. She is, I think, right. *Iste* most likely contains two demonstrative stems \*eis- (es-, is-) and \*to-, which are no more proper to the second person in original meaning than they are in actual use in Umbrian *esto*- or Italian *questo*. Presumably, the frequent reference to the second person arose, as all such references do, in particular contexts, and especially from "relative position" on the stage. This is the gist of Dr. Keller's argument. The argument is somewhat labored, but she has proved her point. There are some contexts in which *iste* has clearly a deictic third-personal force, like Umbrian *esto*-. Not even Terence (*Andria* prol. 15, 21), in pleading for an impartial hearing of his audience, could have been so illogical as to identify audience and critics (*isti*).

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

[Not all works submitted can be reviewed, but those that are sent to the editorial office for notice are regularly listed under "Books Received." Offprints from periodicals and parts of books will not be listed unless they are published (sold) separately. Books submitted are not returnable.]

- ALBENQUE, ALEXANDRE. *Les Rutènes: Études d'histoire, d'archéologie et de toponymie gallo-romaines*. With a Preface by ANDRÉ AYMARD. Paris: A. & J. Picard & Cie, 1948. Pp. xii+345. Fr. 550.
- Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft, Band I, Heft 4 (December, 1948). Innsbruck and Wien: Verlag A. Sperl, 1948.
- CARRIÈRE, JEAN (ed. and trans.). *Théognis: Poèmes élégiaques*. Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1948.
- CARY, M., *The Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; ork: Oxford University Press, 1949. Pp. viii+331+1 folding map. \$7.50.
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- CLEVE, FELIX M. *The Philosophy of Anaxagoras: An Attempt at Reconstruction*. New York: King's Crown Press (Columbia University), 1949. Pp. xxiv+167. \$3.00.
- DELATTE, ARMAND. *La Constitution des États-Unis et les Pythagoriciens*. ("Collection d'études anciennes.") Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1948. Pp. 30.
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- GRIES, KONRAD. *Constancy in Livy's Latinity*. New York: King's Crown Press, 1949. Pp. viii+176. Order from the author, Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.
- HAARHOFF, T. J. *The Stranger at the Gate: Aspects of Exclusiveness and Co-operation in Ancient Greece and Rome, with Some Reference to Modern Times*. 2d ed. New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. xii+354. \$3.75. (Same as the ed. published by Basil Blackwell, Oxford, England, in 1948.)
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- HOWALD, ERNST. *Die Kultur der Antike*. ("Erasmus-Bibliothek," ed. WALTER RÜEGG.) 2d ed. Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1948. Pp. 273.
- JOHNSON, ALLAN CHESTER, and WEST, LOUIS C. *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*. ("Princeton University Studies in Papyrology," No. 6.) Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. viii+344. \$5.00.
- The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, Vol. II (1948). Warsaw: Warsaw Society of Sciences and Letters, 1948.
- KOWALCZYK, FRANCIS C. "Homer as an Oral Poet." Published by the Classics Department of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, 1948. Pp. ii+37+13. Mimeographed.
- KUEBLER, CLARK GEORGE. *The Argument from Probability in Early Attic Oratory*. (Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1941.) Chicago, 1944. Pp. 66.
- LATTE, KURT (ed.). *Theocriti carmina scholarum in usum edidit*. . . Iserlohn: Silva-Verlag (V. & E. Müller K.-G.) [1948]. Pp. 109. DM 3.
- LAVARENNE, M. (ed. and trans.). *Prudence*, Vol. III: *Psychomachie, Contre Symmaque*. Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1948.
- LÉONARD, JEAN, S.J. *Le Bonheur chez Aristote*. (Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, *Mémoires*, 8<sup>e</sup> collection, sér. 2, Vol. XLIV, Fasc. 1.) Bruxelles: Palais des académies, 1948. Pp. 224. Fr. 80.
- LEPPER, F. A. *Trajan's Parthian War*. ("Oxford Classical and Philosophical Monographs.") London: Geoffrey Cumberlege (Oxford University Press), 1948. Pp. xv+224+1 map. 15s.
- LESKY, ALBIN. *Thalatta: Der Weg der Griechen zum Meer*. Wien: Rudolf M. Rohrer Verlag, 1947. Pp. viii+341. \$5.70.
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- MEYER, ERNST. *Römischer Staat und Staatsgedanke*. ("Erasmus-Bibliothek," ed. WALTER RÜEGG.) Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1948. Pp. 467.
- MUGLER, CHARLES. *Platon et la recherche mathématique de son époque*. Strasbourg: Éditions P. H. Heitz, 1948. Pp. xxviii+428. Fr. 2000.
- OATES, WHITNEY J. (ed.). *Basic Writings of Saint Augustine*. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes. 2 vols. New York: Random House, 1948. Pp. xl+847; vi+898.
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- SAYRE, FARRAND. *The Greek Cynics*. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Co., 1948. Pp. viii+112. \$1.50.
- SEVERYNS, ALBERT. *Homère*, Vol. III: *L'Artiste*. ("Collection Lebègue.") Bruxelles: Office de publicité, S.C., 1948. Pp. 200. Fr. 70.
- STANFORD, W. B. (ed.). *The Odyssey of Homer, Edited with General and Grammatical Introduction, Commentary, and Indexes*. ("Classical Series.") 2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan Co., 1947-48. Pp. lxxxvi+432; xciv+452. \$2.75 each.
- STOLTE, BERNARDUS HENDRIKUS. *De Cosmographie van den Anonymus Ravennas: Een Studie over de Bronnen van Boek II-V*. Dissertation, Amsterdam, 1949. Pp. xii+130.
- TAYLOR, LILY ROSS. *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar*. ("Sather Classical Lectures," Vol. XXII.) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949. Pp. x+255. \$3.50.
- TURYN, ALEXANDER (ed.). *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1948. Pp. xvi+403.
- DE VRIES, G. J. *Spel bij Plato*. Amsterdam: N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1949. Pp. x+391. Fl. 9.50.
- WADDELL, HELEN. *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1948. Pp. viii+342. \$5.00.
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